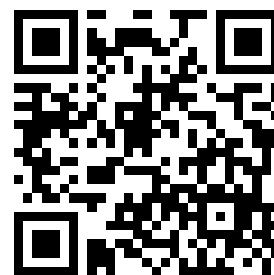

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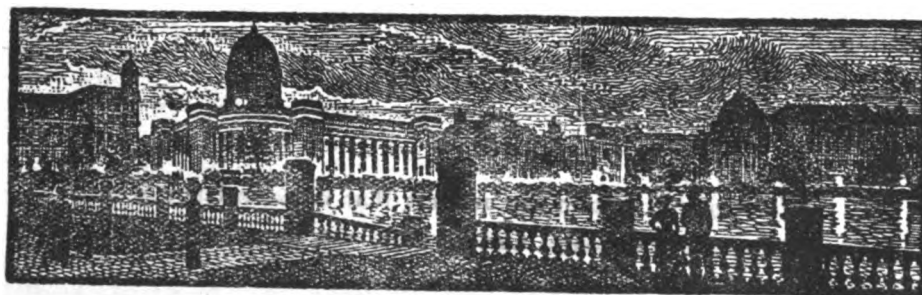
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JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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We regret to inform our readers that in accordance with Paper Control (Economy) Order, 1944, we have been compelled to further curtail the volume of our Publication.

The Political Significance of Hazin's Career in Eastern India

SHAIKH ALI HAZIN, the celebrated Persian Poet and scholar of the mid-eighteenth century, who was forced by the revolution in his own country to come to India in 1147/1733 and died at Benares, in 1180/1760, "equally admired and esteemed by Muslims, Hindus and the English inhabitants of that city", wrote his memoirs in 1154 which contains "a pleasing (1) variety of personal and historical anecdotes and excellent observations of men and matters, and, besides an interesting account of his travels, he tells much that is significant about Nadir Shah and his invasion of India." The Persian text of the memoirs, along with an English translation by T. C. Balfour, was published in London as far back as 1831. Unfortunately, Hazin did not carry his autobiography forward to a later date. But *Dastur-ul-Insha* which has already been utilized (2) so often contains the unpublished correspondence (3) of Hazin with some important personalities connected with the History of India at that time, including his most devoted pupil, Raja Ram Narain, Mauzoon, the Deputy Governor of Bihar. There are some other Persian MSS (3a) containing the correspondence of the Persian Poet which the present writer has not yet had access to. Certain contemporary works in Persian also contain some significant facts about Hazin. Undoubtedly an accomplished scholar and a man of saintly character and of retiring nature, Hazin was, nevertheless, not indifferent to the complex and conflicting political factors in the history of that transitional period. Occasionally his advice and help were sought by some (4), and at certain critical junctures he imparted his sound advice.

(1) Preface to Balfour's trans. of *Tazkira-i-Hazin*.

(2) B. P. P., J. I. H., I. H. Q.

(3) There are more than 35 letters, addressed to Shaikh Hassan, the Raja of Patna, Syed Ahmad Khan, son of Nawab Motamadud Daula, Munshi Bilas Rai, Md. Roshan, Joshish, etc.

(3a) The library of the Muslim University, Aligarh, has 2 such manuscripts. A Ms. of O. P. L., Patna, contains the letters of the Persian poet which he wrote to Shaikh Hassan. A letter of Hazin to Raja Ram Narain is found in a diwan which also belongs to the O. P. L., Patna. But *Dastur-ul-Insha*, at present in the possession of the writer but belonging to Rai Mathura Pd., B.A., Patna City, contains all the letters available in the Mss. of the O. P. L. and these have been utilized.

(4) For instance, Ram Narain, writes in a letter about an 'Arzi' being sent to "My Kibla, the reliever of my necessities", when he heard of Shuja arriving at Benares and contemplating to cross the river. The letter concludes "In all probability he (SD.) would turn back without achieving his purpose on getting his (Hazin's) note".

out of his own natural goodness, to such an important personality as Shujauddaula (5), which passed unheeded with unwholesome consequences for the latter, at least on one occasion. At times we find Hazin supplying Raja Ram Narain with weighty information, regarding the activities of the Jats, the Marhatas, the Nawab of Oudh, and the prince imperial. The interesting correspondence between Hazin and Doctor Fullerton relating to Shujauddaula's defeat at the hands of the English shows the value that was attached to his personality. The observations of the poet on the political condition of India form an interesting reading. Though none of his letters gives the year in which they were written and his language becomes at times cryptic and difficult to understand, and his references are generally much too brief, yet a close examination of their contents enables us to establish the dates and form some idea about the political significance of the poet's career in eastern India at that time.

In a letter addressed, to Shaikh Hasan (6), from Patna, in *Rajab* (1165? or May, 1752) Hazin wrote about his "still drawing the feeble breath of his borrowed existence in a corner of the desolate city of Azimabad without having even the strength or capacity to move about" then he adds "I have often felt grieved on hearing the news of the misfortunes and the distracted condition of the Punjab (7) and Delhi and have prayed to God humbly and with sorrow for the removal of the same, and I am still doing so. The condition of these regions is very disturbed and unsuited to a man like me. I pray to God that no Musalman should have a chance of seeing such things. That place is a hundred times more unworthy and full of abuses than this. If anybody resolves to cross the seas from this side, assuming that he has got strength enough for it, it is extremely difficult, nay, impossible in the case of many to reach the shores on the other side, for, besides the insecurity of the seas, owing to the activities of the pirates of various types and numerous instances of ship-wreck, due to the stormy character of the sea on this side, it will take one no less than four months to reach his destination."

(5) This happened twice, in 1756 and 1764, vide below.

(6) He was probably Shaikh Md. Hasan, mentioned next to Hazin, by the Patna Historian, in S.M. He had been employed by Safdar Jung to look after the education of his son. Later he was forced to come to Patna and was rather shabbily treated by its Raja" (S.M.). This letter appears to have been written at the time the Shaikh was still staying with Safdar Jung.

(7) It has been shown elsewhere (Proc. of I. H. C. at Allahabad) that Hazin paid a flying visit to Patna, for the first time, before 1163, in which year he again arrived in that city, and resided in "Mahalle-Diwane-Badshahi". He paid his third visit to Patna in 1165 and appears to have resided there near Id-Gah (Gulzarbagh), from *Rajab* to the end of *Zilhija*. The main objects of his visits was, as he himself tells us in his letters, to escape to his native lands, through the Sea, via Hugli, in preference to the route via Surat and Thatha (D. I.). In the present letter the poet obviously refers to the disturbances in the Punjab and the panic in Delhi consequent upon the third invasion of the Abdali. Azad Bilgrami and other contemporaries of Hazin have noted the tumult in Dehli after the arrival of Safder Jung with his ally, Malhar Rao Holkar, in *Rajab*, 1165. They had already been fore-stalled, and the treaty ceding Lahore and Multan to the Durbar, had been signed and handed over to Qualander Beg.

Two letters of Hazin, addressed to Raja Ram Narain, one on Tuesday, the 5th Ziquad, and the other on Saturday the 9th Ziquad, tell us about the writer's sojourn in India for 20 years (1147 + 20 = 1167 or 1753 A.D.) and they contain the following new information regarding the civil war in Delhi between Wazir Safdar Jung and the imperialists led by the young but ambitious and unscrupulous Ghazi-u-ddin (Imadul-Mulk). "As regards the news and the state of affairs of those regions, they remain as already reported. Nay, owing to the length of time, the revolution is spreading, little by little, as is the rule, and disturbances and sedition are on the increase and they are causing greater split among, and more distress to, the people. The outsiders are still at Faridabad (8) and its vicinity and the citizens (imperialists) are on the other side. Some times they are separated (and sometimes they come to grips with one another). There is no sign of compromise (?). But for the mercy of God the affairs of this country and the people appear to be doomed." The other letter says, "But as regards the entirely confused condition of that region, the letters from the city of Delhi and the writings which have been received till the 26th or the 27th of *Shawwal* by the men of this place (Benares) through the bankers and the postal system which is still functioning, it may be stated in brief here. Fighting occurred with the Jats on the 24th. Through sheer carelessness they (Jats) lost about nine hundred of their (9) men who were either wounded or killed. The remnants did not stay in that place and were ultimately rescued by others. The other party also did not make much headway and they remained fixed in their places. As from the beginning till that moment even this much had not been achieved, the whole army and all the people of the city (Imperialists) felt a sense of security and were greatly delighted. They became more emboldened than before. The outsiders again fell back on Faridabad and its neighbourhood. They appeared to be preparing for another engagement. One reason for detaining the HARKARA was the hope that fresh news might arrive during the two days but even till this moment of Saturday nothing more has transpired. The posture of affairs is not such as to be easily remediable. In fact, it is impossible that the state of affairs that existed four (10) or five months before can be set right and restored for decades. The tranquility and the administration of the country have become so disturbed and disordered as to be beyond the control of these people. If fate ordained so, and my life was spared so that I might have the pleasure of seeing you, I would reveal what is the reality."

There are certain fragmentary informations in some of the letters of Hazin regarding a number of historical personages. The following extracts will be read with interest. "It has been learnt that Malhar and his forces had crossed

(8) After the fight near the old fort of Shershah, on the 30th Shaban, the Wazir and his Jat allies proceeded to Barapulla and other places where also fighting occurred. Then they marched to Faridabad. "Notable engagements occurred in these places for two months" (Tarikh-e-Ali). Suraj Mal, the Jat Raja, and his forces were encamped at Faridabad.

(9) This does not find any mention anywhere else.

(10) The civil war began on the 6th of Rajab, 1166, and lasted for six months (April to Nov. 1753).

the Narbada but as there was a renewal of the quarrel between the Subedar (11) (The Nizam ?) and Balaji Rao (3rd PESHWA) which eventually took the shape of a severe engagement between the two, Malhar and his forces had to retrace their steps to reinforce their master." An interesting SHUQQA (Note) which must have been sent in 1756-57 (12) refers to the sad plight of the family of Hidayat Ali Khan and his sons, including Ghulam Hussain, the Patna historian, due to the hostility of Serajud-daula. "The poor helpless and incautious female slaves and a new born babe, as also some weak and dejected ones, appear to have fallen into the custody of the foot-soldiers and are lying frightened and terror stricken in that city (Patna) on account of their connection with the sons of Hidayat Ali Khan. The ladies with one or two such sons, including Ghulam Hussain and Ghalib Ali, repeatedly sent words to me and personally requested me (to speak on their behalf). The wretched condition of these ladies in this city (Benares) is such as to compel them to do all their work with their own hands, for they have not got even a single person to serve them. Please (13) withhold your hands from them, if you can, and permit them to come here and join the others. As they made solicitations and I felt pity on their miserable lot, I have given expression to it here." In similar other SHUQQAS (Notes) Hazin has recommended to Raja Ram Narain for his favours such personages as Maulvi Jamaluddin (14) of Phulwari, Mir Badrud-duja, Himmat Ali, the infant son of Md. Ashjah Khan (15), Gurbat, etc. Another short note, also addressed to the Raja of Patna, refers to a more important historical fact "There is no fresh thing to write about (except that) it has been learnt that Nowab Mohammad Quli Khan (16) has returned from Lucknow to Allahabad. The details are not yet available. The prince (Ali Gohar—later Shah Alam) was present at Jhusi (17) but the news received tonight says that he has moved one or two Cos towards this side. I pray to God to remedy the situation of this country and its people. It appears to be beyond the control of human beings, for the whole atmosphere seems to be poisoned. It is impossible for those who have brought

(11) The 3rd Peshwa was often at war with the Nizam during the period 1751-59 and was bent upon wiping out the Moghal rule from the Deccan. It is however difficult to locate the event referred to here.

(12) The author of *Seyarul-mutakherin*, though related to Serajud Daula's father, had incurred the displeasure of the young Nawab by taking the side of Shaukat Jung. His father also had been practically leading the life of an exile from Behar. We are told that the author, his brothers, Ghalib Ali and Syed Ali, and his uncle, Wahab Ali, had been banished from Behar, under orders of Seraj. The historian himself escaped with difficulty from Patna to Benares where he saw the Persian poet, Hazin.

(13) Raja Ram Narain who was acting under the orders of Seraj received this recommendatory note.

(14) Hazin speaks very highly of this Moulvi. He was the son of Shah Mohammad Makhdum, and a brother of the more famous Shah Ayatullah who wrote under the pen-names of Shorish and Jowhari. M. Jamaluddin was also a poet and he wrote under the pen-name of "Bahjat".

(15) He has been referred to elsewhere in some of the letters of Raja Ram Narain.

(16) The Khan was the Governor of Allahabad and a cousin of Shuja. He first saw Shah Alam (Ali Gohar) on Jamadi 1, 1173.

(17) The prince went to Jhusi on the 24th Rajab, 1173.

about the situation to remedy it. "It can be restored only if God sends a people from some other place. Take these words of mine to be based on truth and sincerity." The last lines of the note are significant and appear to be prophetic. The SHUQQA must be dated at the end of 1758.

Chronologically two other letters of the poet, also sent to the Raja of Patna, are well worth quoting. They were written, obviously, at about the end of 1759 when prince Ali Gauhar, referred to above, had been defeated and driven out of Behar. The extracts given below show not only the intimate relation existing between the Persian poet and the Hindu Raja for they chiefly relate to the latter's mother and the other relations who had been staying at Benares in a spacious house "resembling a fort" with "open space up to the river at their disposal," and, who, despite their intense anxiety to proceed to Allahabad, obviously on pilgrimage, were prevented from doing so, and were induced to return to Patna much against their wishes, but they also throw what may be taken to be a new light on the movements of the Marhatas and their relations with Shujauddaula and sundry other matters of historical interest. The letters which are dated, 5th and 30th, of Jamadi, I, say, "The letters from Ghazipur, received yesterday have been already sent, and that which was received afterwards is being enclosed herein . . . Pahalwan (18) and his son came here three or four days back, to take their bath, and after seeing me, the poor man, have gone back. I hear that he had conveyed a message to your esteemed mother advising her to return immediately. There is no indication yet that they have abandoned their resolve to proceed to Allahabad. I told Rai Ramchand (19), the light of the eyes, that I would never allow them to proceed towards that side. . . . The long and the short of the matter is that times are out of joint and the country is in a strange state of disorder. At this time mean-minded men of depraved character have shot up like numberless reptiles of the earth and have gathered in that region and are still gathering. Matters having gone beyond mischief and disorders are bordering on murders, employment of firearms and slaughter of a large number of God's creatures. Such times are hardly suitable for the preservation of one's reputation and the honour of one's family members. If the time and situation had been different and that place had been empty (free from troubles), I, the poor man, could have arranged for the removal of other obstacles, and would have even written to the Nazim (Governor) about what was absolutely necessary, and would have also made some one accompany them. But I feel helpless in the matter, specially in this part of the year, for it has been ascertained that a force (20) of fourteen thousand Marhata horse-

(18) Pahalwan Singh, the powerful Zamindar of Nokha (Arrah) was compelled by Clive to give up the cause of Shah Alam. Clive was accompanied in the expedition by Ram Narain and Nawab Miran. Ram Narain refers in a letter to the commendatory note he had received from Hazin, on behalf of Pahalwan Singh, on the occasion of these expeditions to the frontiers of Behar.

(19) Described as the brother of the Maharaja (Raja Ram Narain). He was perhaps his first cousin, and one very much loved by the Raja. There are many references to him in *Dastur-ul-Insha*.

(20) The object of the Marhata policy in the fifties, specially in 1759-60, was the acquisition of the holy places of the Hindus, including Benares and Allahabad

men has arrived and is encamped in its vicinity, and the Nazim is bent upon opposing them and is re-arranging the artillery of the fort. . . . Benares is as one's own house but the case with Allahabad is different. No place is free from strifes. . . . The crowd is ever on the increase . . . Shah Shakir, the envoy of Nawab Bukshiul-mamalik (21), who had also requested me for a few words which he got must have arrived near you. Do what you consider to be advisable for the time. The news of disturbances and disorders gives rise to many stories every moment and forms the theme of rumours. The clawless and toothless wolves of Delhi and its neighbourhood are eager and expectant and the corpse-eaters of the Deccan are dispersed and confused and are anxious for attaining the wealth of union of (their fellow-men) and are eager for the accomplishment of their journey's end."

The reference to Shakir Khan in the above letter requires an explanation. He has been described in the letters of C. P. C., Vol. I as Shakir Khan and Nawab Shakiruddaula, and he appears to have been sent from the imperial court of the helpless Emperor, Alamgir II, to induce the English and the other authorities in Behar and Bengal to oppose his son, Prince Ali Gauhar. Shah Shakir himself writes in a letter to Major Adams that "he must have heard of the services which the writer formerly rendered in conjunction with Ram Narain and Nawab Nasir-ul-mulk, the Chota Nawab (Miran). There is an interesting letter of Raja Ram Narain in Dastur-ul-insha, addressed to "Nawab Bukshi-ul-mamalik", at about this very time (1759) in which, after acknowledging the receipt of his "generous Parwana" about the 'prince' which had been "conveyed to him by Shah Saheb, Shah Md. Shakir", the Raja adds, "Whatever has happened through the grace of God is due to the favours of your excellency. God had mercy on the weak condition of your devoted one. I take this opportunity of offering my humble respects and having the honour of sending the Nazars. On account of the arrival, here, of Nawab Saheb, Nawab Nasirul-mulk Behadur (Miran) in company with Nawab Sabit Jung Behadur (Clive), with his force, and constant movements up to the frontiers of this province (Behar) of the two Nawabs, I your devoted one, could not send my *Arazdasht* in due time, but I have been all the time ardently attached to, and have every hope of receiving favours from, your excellency. The Nawab

which were in the dominion of the Nawab of Oudh. This perhaps explains the fact given above. As far back as 15-8-'54, Malhar wrote to the Peshwa that his instructions regarding the occupation of Benares and Paryag were not being overlooked. Jayappa Sindhia wrote in Aug. 1754 "to punish him (Shuja) adequately and to set up our rule in the holy places is the absorbing idea in our mind". In 1755 Duttaji was asked to lead an army into Benares, Allahabad and Bengal. A letter in Peshwa's Daftar dated 30-7-59 refers to "negotiations for the delivery of Benares, Paryag, and Gaya". The Sindhias were repeatedly urged to induce Shuja to cede Benares and Allahabad and Duttaji was directed even to wrest Allahabad from him by force. On 16-1-60 Jankoji wrote to the Peshwa about "the project of the capture of the holy places as desired by the addressee".

(21) This refers to Ahmad Khan Bangash, a friend of Wazir, Ghaziuddin, who had been appointed Amir-ul-Umra and the Imperial Bukshi, after the departure of Ahmad Shah Abdali who had nominated Najib-ud-dowla to the said posts (vide Irvin's Article in J. A. S. B., 1893 on "the Bangash Afghan").

Saheb, deeming it inadvisable to prolong his stay on the frontiers of this Subah has gone back. During the whole course of the last engagements (with the prince), Shah Md. Shakir Khan had been present in the company of this humble one, and it was through the good fortune of your excellency that we had the blessings of his company. As for the details your excellency will have the same through the *Arazdasht* of the Shah Saheb."

We crave the indulgence of our readers for going a little back and referring to the year 1756 when Shujaudaula, being highly incensed against his vassal, Raja Balwant Singh of Benares, because of his many acts of aggression, proceeded to Benares and also proposed to Fazle Ali Khan of Ghazipur to drive the Benares Raja out of his dominion. The latter is said to have called in the aid of his allies, the Marhatahs (22), from the city of Patna, but at the same time he tried other means also to appease the wrath of the Nawab of Oudh. Balwant (23) was a great admirer of Hazin. We are told by a contemporary (24) historian that when Shujaudaula arrived at Benares and went to see the great Persian poet at his residence (Fatiman) the latter offered his friendly advice not to attempt the destruction of the Raja of Benares because he looked after the wellbeing of the people, kept them pleased, and was also quite regular in remitting his tribute to the Nawab. It was not worthwhile, the poet added, to lead his forces through difficult, inaccessible hilly regions to capture the fugitive Raja and thereby cause the destruction of many of God's creatures. The young Nawab paid no heed to the advice of Hazin. The latter who "never bowed (25) his head before the men of the world had no idea to remove the annoyance of the Nawab". When the Raja heard of this conversation between the old and the young man he left Latifpur and took refuge in village Kesanha at the foot of the fort of Bijaigarh.

Another occasion of Hazin offering his sane and sound advice to Shujaudaula came when the latter, accompanied by King Shah Alam and the ex-nawab of Bengal, Mir Quasim, arrived at Benares, on their way to Patna, in 1764. The king and the Wazir went to pay their respects to the Persian poet. The historian, (25) Khairuddin, says "One day the saintly poet asked them the reason for their arrival. The Nawab Wazir said that he had set his heart on the expulsion of the English from the Subah of Bengal and the Islands of India. The Shaikh smiled and said "My beloved son, these Hindustani soldiers who are accompanying you know hardly any method of fighting save that with the swords and the shields. As for the English, I am told, they are expert of the age in the art of warfare. They have specialized themselves in the use of firearms and attained perfection in artillery warfare. There is a likelihood of your efforts proving unsuccessful and you may perhaps have to regret your action. Don't think of engaging them in battle. On the otherhand, try, as far as possible, to come to an accommodation of differences with them.

(22) Tohfai Taza. A new fact which requires corroboration.

(23) Tarikh-i-Benares (Urdu) by Moulvi Mazhar Hasan.

(24) Balwant Nama by Ghulam Husain.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Tulfa-i-Taza; Ibrat Nama.

But if you think that a fight with them is inevitable, don't take your whole force against them. You should select out of this huge army a number of picked horse soldiers and sturdy fighters, and with their help make raids upon them. As their army consists mainly of foot soldiers and even their cavalry cannot compete in galloping with yours, you would, in all probability, succeed in blockading them and cutting off their provisions. In this way their serried ranks might be thrown in confusion and your efforts would be crowned with success." Although the Nawab did not like the advice but felt annoyed to hear these words, he had too great respects for the Shaikh to open his lips. According to another authority, (27) Salar Jung, the brother-in-law of the Nawab Wazir, made a presumptuous reply but Shujaudaula held his peace. After Shujaudaula had taken his leave, the Persian poet, heaved a sigh of sorrow and said, "May God protect the Caravan whose leader is not aware of what is good or bad for him."

Disregarding the advice of the poet, Shujaudaula proceeded to Patna where he suffered his first defeat at the battle of Pacha Pehari and fell back on Buxar where he suffered his decisive defeat at the hands of Major Munro. It was after this event that Doctor Fullerton, the well known physician-politician caused a letter to be drafted by Gulam Husain Khan, Wafa, (the Patna historian) and sent it through Captain Stables to Hazin, in Benares. The following is the literal translation of this letter and also of the reply which was sent by the Persian poet.

"The leader of the most learned and the knowing, the acutest of all the penetrating doctors, of illustrious rank, your eminence, the worshipful Shaikh Saheb. May your shadow be perpetuated! After offering my profound reverence and performing my duties of devotedness, I submit for the perusal of those admitted to your graceful presence that, owing to several causes which must be clearly visible, in all their aspects, in the mirror of your noble heart, which is the seat of angelic manifestations, the will of God had been directed towards warning a large number of people. Although the door of amity to Shujaudaula was opened and we made certain offers, (28) according to the current notions and the prevalent practice of all our people, and there was nothing in them, repugnant to, or prejudicial to the interests of, the vain and blundering people of Hindustan, both in point of custom or wisdom, that

(27) Kamaluddin Haider writes in his history of Oudh (Urdu) that Shuja-ud-dowla, who used to address Hazin as his uncle, submitted that he had already pledged his words to Nawab Mirkasim for punishing the English and was in a fix what to do in the matter. When Hazin offered his sane advice to accept the terms of the English and avoid fighting with them, for they were past master in the art of artillery warfare, Shuja-ud-dowla kept silent, but his young and indiscreet brother-in-law replied that the expulsion of the English was a very easy affair. The historian quotes a man who had first-hand knowledge of this interview.

(28) The historian Khairuddin, says that when the King and the Vazir arrived at Benares in the middle of Shaaban, 1177, A.H., with the idea of marching for the conquest of Behar and Bengal, the English, being alarmed at the news of the Nawab's reputation for gallantry and immense prestige and being hesitant to incur unpopularity by fighting against the King, sent their agent to plead for an amiable settlement and offered to cede the mahals of Bihar and promised to pay the tribute of Bengal.

man of ill understanding, being proud of the plenty of his resources and the huge number of the people who had gathered round him, failed to lend his ears of acceptance to them. He did not know what the consequences of his thoughtlessness would be, and he saw what he saw. Alas! The situation of the distracted age and the affairs of sovereignty have gone from bad to worse. The peace and the means of livelihood of a whole world of people have been destroyed on account of the clouded understanding of the ill advised claimants to sovereignty. Although I believe that owing to the innate feelings of compassion the sight of the patently confused condition of many groups of people would cause grief and agony to your eminent self, and I, your devoted one, also feel greatly grieved and afflicted on this account, yet I console my sincere heart with the thought that as your eminence is the chief guide of those admitted to the court of heaven, your eminence would, in accordance with the will of God, the Holy, feel contended with, and resigned to, whatever happens in this world of creation and iniquity. Mr. Stables will present himself before your eminence and convey this petition of your devoted one, and he is sure to receive the favours of your eminence. To add anything more would be to exceed the limits of propriety."

"The gracious letter of his eminence—May his blessings be perpetuated!—which was sent in reply to that of the Doctor Saheb". "The object of the longing ones, the most sincere of friends, the source of comfort and solace to the heart of the afflicted and the forsaken ones—May you remain safe! The safe arrival of Mr. Stables and the receipt of your excellent letter became a source of consolation to myself, your friend. I offered my thanksgivings to God. Owing to the intensity of my afflictions and bodily infirmities which had grown to such an extent during these days as to make me incapable of sitting down for a while or speaking even a word or two, I have been debarred from interviewing him upto now i.e. Saturday, the 26th., and, consequently, I feel greatly ashamed of myself. If I had regained my vigour even for a few moments, so as to enable me to sit up for a while, I should have personally apologised to him for my shortcomings over which I had no control. From the writings of Ghulam Husain I scent the odour of hopefulness. May God help its fulfilment! May you, gentlemen, possessed of discernment, remain safe! In your excellent letter you have tried to console this well wisher concerning the distracted condition of the times. In comparison with the sympathy and friendship which you have shown, the appreciation and friendship of that wayward (29) one does not weigh much with me and I am unable to intervene. May God, Almighty, reward you for your good works. This well wisher, from the beginning of discernment till now, has always, and in all matters pertaining to this world and the next, accepted nothing but resignation to the will of God, and has ever disliked self-concietedness and presumption and regarded it as ignorance and a blemish. It is a fact that as my nature and disposition, being free from evils, has been accustomed to, and nourished by integrity and truth, it has always hated mean and crooked things and the bad deeds and words of the evil doers and the destroyers of the peace and

(29) This obviously refers to Shuja-ud-doula.

order of the world, do not weigh well on the scale of my straightforward nature. But what can be done? The truth lies in what has been described by the truth-revealing pen of yours that the affairs of the state have gone from wreck to ruin, and the standard of living of the people of the times has gone down to meanness and vileness. I hope, through the grace of God, the things would be set right, (30) and the Sun of justice and wisdom would cast its reflexion far and wide. Do not withhold your good will for this sincere friend, either in this life or after his death. May you remain under the blessed protection of God!"

SYED HASAN ASKARI.

(30) The expression "The odour of hopefulness" scented by the poet should be read along with this sentence.

Emperor Humayun's Tower At Sarnath Benares

THE small village of Sarnath, which is situated at a distance of some five miles to the north of Benares, is a place of great antiquity. Earlier on it was known as *Mrigadava*—the Deer Park, and *Rishipatana*—the Abode of the Sages, and with Kapilavastu, Gaya and Kusinagar, was one of the four chief places of pilgrimage of the Buddhists. As a result of some "violent catastrophe accompanied by wilful destruction and plunder" sometime about the time of overthrow of Buddhism in India followed by the "effect of time and further depredations in the course of succeeding centuries", all its great monuments and institutions with the exception of the Dhamek tower were buried under mounds of debris until the "very name and object of the place were forgotten". As noted further on, it was probably known as Damek or Dhamek in the Moghul times.⁽¹⁾ For a detailed history of the chance discovery of its Buddhist ruins about the close of the eighteenth century and their successive excavations culminating in the conservation and preservation of the site and its antiquities by the Archaeological Survey of India reference may be made to

(1) Sarnath as the name of the village is apparently of a recent date. J. Duncan, the then Resident of Benares, writing about the discovery of the remains of Buddha at this place in 1794, remarked that these were found in the "subterraneous materials of some extensive and ancient buildings in the vicinity of a temple called *Sarnath*, at the distance of about four miles to the northward of the present city of Benares."—*Asiat. Researches*, V, p. 131 (1799, London reprint). Cunningham (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, I, pp. 116, 117, 1861-62) does not mention the name Sarnath, but records the following interesting information about the Chaukhandi Stupa, "Due south from the great tower of Dhamek and at a distance of 2,500 feet, there is a lofty ruined mound of solid brickwork, surmounted by an octagonal building. When I first lived at Benares this mound was always known by the name of Chaukhandi of which no one knew the meaning. But during my late visit I found that the old name was nearly forgotten having been superseded by Lauri-ka-Kudan or 'Lauris leap'." Fuhrer (*Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions, N. W. Provinces and Oudh*, p. 215, Allahabad, 1891) also does not mention Sarnath, but remarks, "Due south of the great tower of Dhamek and at a distance of 2,500 feet, there is a lofty brick mound of solid brick work surmounted by an octagonal building. The mound is called Chaukhandi or Lori-ki Kudan". In this connection it is of interest to note that neither in the records of the 1840 Settlement nor in those of the partial Settlement of 1883-84 any place is shown as Sarnath. In 1883-84 Settlement plot 1/617 is entered in the *Khasra* as Lori ki Kudan or Damak, and this name is also shown in the map. There is thus a confusion in regard to the names Dhamak or Dhamek and Chaukhandi, as the former name is now applied to the large Stupa exactly half a mile to the north-east of the Chaukhandi Stupa. Finally it may be noted that the Chaukhandi Stupa is also commonly known as *Sita ki Rasui* or Sita's kitchen. For the above information I am indebted to Mr. A. C. Banerji, Curator, Sarnath Museum, and the Revenue authorities of the Benares District.

the detailed accounts by Oertel (2) and Sahni. The present paper does not deal with any of the Buddhist monuments, but is concerned with a much later addition in the form of an octagonal tower which was erected during the Moghul period in the sixteenth century on one of its Stupas. The genesis and subsequent history of this comparatively modern accretion has not so far been properly elucidated. The two main reasons for this omission appear to be: (i) that the Persian inscription over the north doorway of the tower was incorrectly translated for Oertel, and (ii) that the only Persian work Bayazid-Biyat's *Tarikh-i-Humayun* or *Tadhkira-i-Humayun wa Akbar*(3) (the name given to the work by the editor, the late M. Hidayat Hosain)—in which this building is mentioned—was until recently in manuscript form, and this unique MS. in the India Office Library, London, was not available for study and reference to historians in this country.

The Stupa referred to above is known as the Chaukhandi Stupa or the square mound, and a detailed account of it will be found in Oertel's monograph cited above (pp. 74-78, pl. xxiv, and text-fig. 7). It is also popularly known as the Lauri-ka-kudan or the leap of Lauri in view of the legend that the great *ahir* or cowherd Lauri at the request of his sweetheart leapt from this Stupa to the Dhamek tower exactly half a mile to its north-east, and was killed in the attempt.(4) It is situated on the left side of the road to Sarnath some three furlongs from the 4th milestone, and has been identified with the magnificent Stupa about three hundred feet high, at a distance of half a mile or so to the south-west of the Monastery recorded by the Chinese pilgrim traveller Hieun Tshang.(5) Oertel, however, judging from the spread of its base placed its original height at close upon 200 feet. Sherring in 1868 found its height to be 74 feet and that of the octagonal building on it 23 feet 8 inches, and stated that the latter had been "erected to commemorate the ascent of the mound by Emperor Humayun." Fisher and Hewett (6) gave the same dimensions for the mound and the octagonal tower on it, but incorrectly added "An inscription on the building records that it was built in the reign of Humayun to commemorate his ascent on the mound." Oertel in the account cited (p. 74)

(2) Oertel, F. H.—Excavation at Sarnath, *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1904-05, pp. 60-104 (Calcutta, 1908); and Sahni Daya Ram—*Guide to the Buddhist Ruins of Sarnath*, 5th edn., pp. 6-9 (Delhi, 1933).

(3) For full details in regard to the only known MS. of this work, its manuscript translation by W. Erskine in the British Museum, and a partial translation published by Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saxena, see the English Preface of the text, pp. v-viii published under the editorship of M. Hidayat Hosain in *Bibliotheca Indica* series of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta, 1941).

(4) Vide Oertel, *op. cit.*, p. 78, and Sherring, M.A.—*The Sacred City of the Hindus: An account of Benares in ancient and modern times*, p. 255 (London, 1868).

(5) See Oertel, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77 where Hieun Tshang's account from Julien's translation is quoted, and Sherring's translation on p. 372. Also see Sir John Marshall's remarks on p. 38 of the *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.* quoted above.

(6) Fisher, F. H. and J. P. Hewett—*Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India*, XIV, pt. i, *Benares*, p. 166 (Allahabad, 1884).

published the inscription and its translation, and noted that the inscription is in

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PERSIAN INSCRIPTION ON HUMAYUN'S TOWER
AT SARNATH, BENARES.

(7) Nevill, H. R.—*Benares*, Vol. XXVI of the *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, pp. 357, 358 (Allahabad, 1909).

(8) Majumdar, B.—*A Guide to Sarnath*, pp. 44, 45 (Delhi, 1937).

(9) Altekar, A. S.—*History of Benares* (From the earliest times down to 1937), p. 32 (Benares, 1937).

the detailed accounts by Oertel (2) and Sahni. The present paper does not

(5) See Oertel, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77 where Hieun Tshang's account from Julien's translation is quoted, and Sherring's translation on p. 372. Also see Sir John Marshall's remarks on p. 38 of the *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.* quoted above.

(6) Fisher, F. H. and J. P. Hewett—*Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India*, XIV, pt. i, Benares, p. 166 (Allahabad, 1884).

published the inscription and its translation, and noted that the inscription is in raised Arabic characters on a stone slab above the doorway :—

الله اکبر

چو اینچہ شاہ جنت اشیانی ہمایوں بادشاہ ہفت کشور
بروزی آمد و بر تخت بنشست و زان شد مطلع خورشید انور
کزیدوں بندہ را آمد بخاطر غلام خانہ زاد شاہ اکبر
کہ سازد جای نورسراں معلا گندی چوں چرخ اخضر
نود شش سال و نہصد بود تاریخ کہ آمد در بنا این خوب منظر

"God is Great".

"As Humayun, King of the Seven Climes, now residing in paradise, deigned to come and sit here one day, thereby increasing the splendour of the sun, so Akbar his son and humble servant, resolved to build on the spot a lofty tower reaching to the blue sky. It was in the year 996 A.H. that this beautiful building was erected."

An exact copy of the translation was published by Nevill in the Benares Gazetteer,(7) while Majumdar in his Guide to Sarnath (8) published by the Archaeological Survey of India included both the Persian inscription and its English translation from Oertel with the only variation that he translated *Charḡh-i-Akhdar* as *sky* instead of the *blue sky*. Altekar in his *History of Benares* (9) remarked :

"The visits of Humayun to Benares were brief and busy ; yet he found time to visit the neighbouring ruins at Sarnath. He ascended what is now known as the Chaukhandi *stupa* and surveyed the extensive ruins around. What feelings were excited by them in his mind, we do not know. Akbar deemed his father's visit to the place as an important event and commemorated it by erecting upon the *stupa* an octagonal tower, with a stone slab bearing an Arabic inscription recording his father's visit to the locality. The tablet is still in tact (*sic*)."

Oertel's translation of the 3rd verse is inaccurate, and apparently it was this which led him to describe that "On top of this is an octagonal brick tower erected to the Emperor Humayun by his son Akbar in the year 1588 A.D." Nevill, Sahni, and Majumdar have repeated Oertel's mistakes. Altekar's statement that the inscription on the building is in Arabic appears to be a *lapsus calami* for Arabic script.

Oertel translated the 3rd verse as :—"So Akbar, his son and humble servant resolved". This is quite incorrect, as leaving aside the important consideration that no poet in the 33rd year of Emperor Akbar's reign would have

(7) Nevill, H. R.—*Benares*, Vol. XXVI of the *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, pp. 357, 358 (Allahabad, 1909).

(8) Majumdar, B.—*A Guide to Sarnath*, pp. 44, 45 (Delhi, 1937).

(9) Altekar, A. S.—*History of Benares* (From the earliest times down to 1937), p. 32 (Benares, 1937).

dared to describe the Emperor as *Ghulam-i-Khanazad* or a house-born slave of Humayun, there can be no question that the first two words of the verse are *Govardhan banda*, Govardhan the humble person—in the first half of the verse—whom the poet describes as the house-born slave of Emperor Akbar, and not as Oertel interprets it. Other important historical considerations against Emperor Akbar being accepted as the builder of the tower in 996 A.H. as a monument of his father Humayun's visit are that Akbar did not visit Benares and Sarnath in 996 A.H., 1588 A.D., which would be in the 33rd year(10) of his reign, when the Emperor had been in the Punjab for over a year ; he did not return to Agra till 1006 A.H., 1598 A.D. He had, however, been in Benares thrice previously,(11) but there is no mention in the official history of the reign, Abul Fadl's *Akbarnama* or any of the contemporary histories such as the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* or the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of his having visited Sarnath, or ordered a monument to be built in commemoration of his father's visit to that place. Further it is hard to believe that Emperor Akbar, who erected such wonderful buildings at Fathpur Sikri, Agra, etc., should have been responsible for such an insignificant-looking brick edifice to be built at Sarnath as a monument of his father's visit to the place.

The following would be a more accurate translation of the inscription :

Since the Emperor Jannat Ashiyani,((12) Humayun, the ruler of Seven Climes, came to this place one day, and sitting on the throne made the edifice the rising place of the bright sun ; it has come into the mind of this humble person Govardhan, a house-born slave of Emperor Akbar, to erect as a memorial a humble edifice (by the side of) the exalted dome which resembles the blue sky. The date of the erection of this elegant building was 996 A.H. (1587-88 A.D.). From this translation it is clear that the person who decided to erect the monument was not Emperor Akbar, but Govardhan, whom the poet describes as a house-born slave of Emperor Akbar. Govardhan or Govardhandhari was the elder son of Raja Todar Mal, the famous general and the Revenue Minister of Emperor Akbar, and as has been shown by Jangir Singh in his interesting paper, was probably the fief-holder of Jaunpur for a number of years from the 28th year of Emperor Akbar's reign, i.e. from about

(10) See Vincent A. Smith's detailed chronology of Akbar's reign in his monograph : *Akbar The Great Mogul*, pp. 457, 458; *Akbarnama*, III, A. S. B. text, pp. 528-536, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 806-816; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, De's text II, pp. 405-407, and translation II, pp. 620-623; and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, text II, pp. 364-367, Lowe's translation II, pp. 375-377. See also *Cambridge History of India* IV, pp. 137-144 for an account of the period Akbar spent in Northern India.

(11) Akbar's visits to Benares were first in 973 A.H., vide *Akbarnama*, text II, p. 264, Beveridge's translation II, p. 393; second in 975 A.H., when he ordered the place to be plundered, *Akbarnama* text II, p. 297, translation, p. 435; and the third in 982 A.H. when on his way to Patna he halted for three days at Benares, *Akbarnama* text III, p. 88, Beveridge's translation, pp. 124, 125. It is not necessary to include references to the other works here, as no additional information is to be found in any of them.

(12) *Jannat Ashiyani* or more correctly *Jahanbani Jannat Ashiyani*—as is well known—was the epithet which Abul Fadl coined for referring to Emperor Humayun. As was pointed out by Beveridge, *Akbarnama*, translation I, p. 32, note 5, Abul Fadl "uses one and sometimes both epithets when referring to Humayun." Oertel has only translated it literally.

1583-1590 A.D.(13) In regard to the inscription itself I read the first half of the third verse as کز بدون بنده را آمد بخاطر and the first half of the fourth verse as که سازن جای نوبس سر آن and کز بدون بنده را آمد بخاطر instead of که سازن جای نوبس سر آن as recorded by Oertel.

Emperor Humayun's visit to Benares in commemoration of which the tower was built is not mentioned in *Akbarnama*. In the account of the Bengal campaign (14) after a short account of the taking of the Chunar fort it is stated that the Jaunpur territory was assigned to Mir Hindu Beg and Chunar to Mirak Beg, and that Humayun thereafter moved forward to Patna. Jauhar (15) in his Memoirs, however, explicitly states that in 945 A.H., 1538-39 A.D., Humayun after taking "possession of the strong fortress of Chunar, marched towards Bengal; when encamped near Benares, he made particular inquiries respecting Shyr Khan." The conquest of Benares with Chunar is only casually mentioned in Gulbadan Begam's *Humayun-Nama*.(16) Bayazid Biyat,(17) on the other hand, while not mentioning the year of the visit states that Emperor Humayun at the time of his campaign to Bengal built a tower near Benares in the village known as Damek, this name was apparently in vogue at the time for Sarnath near Benares.(18) His further account which is of special interest in connection with the history of the tower, is discussed later. Humayun's stay at Benares is not mentioned in *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, and Ahmad Yadgar's *Tarikh-i-Shahi* or *Tarikh Salatin-i-Afghana*. Qanungo,(19) however, mentions definitely that after the fall of Chunar, Humayun "ordered a march towards Benares, and encamped in the neighbourhood of that city." Erskine(20) only mentions his advance to Benares in 1538 A.D. without any details. Banerji in his recent monographic history of Humayun(21) states that after the fall of Chunar in March 1538, Humayun captured Benares and stayed there for some time. This is the only occasion for which there is a definite record of Humayun having been at Benares. He may probably have passed near Benares on the return journey to Chunar after his defeat at Chausa on June 26th, 1539 A.D. During his earlier campaign against Sher Shah in 1532 A.D. he only went as far as Chunar, and returned to Agra after the treaty of Chunar in December, 1532.(22)

(13) See Jangir Singh—Raja Todar Mal's sons, *Journ. U. P. Hist. Soc.* XV, pp. 55-64 (1942).

(14) *Akbarnama*, text I, p. 151, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 332, 333.

(15) Stewart's translation of the *Memoirs*, p. 11 (London, 1832).

(16) Mrs. Beveridge's text, p. 39, translation, p. 133 (London, 1902).

(17) M. Hidayat Hosain's edition of the text of *Tadhkira-i-Humayun wa Akbar*, p. 303 (Calcutta, 1941).

(18) The name Damek or mor ecorrectly Dhamek probably gained vogue from the name of the old Buddhist tower of Dhamek which is still known by this name, see Oertel, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-74, and Nevill, *op. cit.*, pp. 349, 350. The *Kol-i-'Azim* in Bayazid's account apparently means the Naya Tal and Narokar or Sarang Tal, which are so well shown in the plan of the site reproduced as plate XV in Oertel's account.

(19) *Sher Shah*, p. 158 (Calcutta, 1921).

(20) *History of India*, II, *History of Humayun*, p. 142 (London, 1854).

(21) *Humayun Badshah*, I, pp. 203, 204 (1933).

(22) See Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50.

From the narrative in the above quoted authorities it is certain that after the conquest of Chunar in March 1538 Humayun marched to Benares which lies some 16 miles to its north-east, and after capturing it encamped for some time near Sarnath which according to Bayazid was then known as Damek. *En passant* it may be mentioned that except for the Buddhist Stupa at Sarnath mentioned already being known as Dhamek, this name is no longer in use for any village in the vicinity at the present day.

Bayazid records the fact of Humayun having built a covered porch or a building—at Damek when he was going to Bengal.(23) This is also confirmed by the poem of Mulla Fathi, which is also included there by Bayazid. According to this account Emperor Humayun halted at Benares—the water of which place is excellent and the climate exhilarating. Here the Emperor ordered a building to be erected for his assemblies so that they could arrange a place in it for his enjoyment.(24)

Apparently the building was erected in 1538-39 A.D. As a result of neglect during the reigns of Sher Shah and his successors the building must have become dilapidated, and Bayazid Biyat, who was the agent (*Na'ib*) of Khan Khanan Mun'im Khan had it thoroughly repaired in the year 975 A.H., 1567-68 A.D., and the Khan Khanan came and stayed for a few days in that building.(25)

Bayazid further adds that he had the date of renovation inscribed on a stone, and fixed the stone on to a Pipli tree(26) which was growing to the east of that building. Unfortunately neither the tree nor the inscription is in existence any longer.

The building must have again fallen into ruins by 996 A.H., 1587-88 A.D. and it was, therefore, decided by Govardhandhari an official of Emperor Akbar to erect a humble memorial in commemoration of Emperor Humayun's visit and stay there in the year 1538-39 A.D.

In conclusion, therefore, it may be stated that from Bayazid's account it appears that the village of Sarnath which had fallen into ruins was known as Damek or Dhamek during Emperor Akbar's reign. Emperor Humayun had

(23) See Hidayat Hosain's edition of Bayazid, p. 303. The sentence there is :—

مفتی کہ حضرت جنس آشیانی رقیقہ بہ بنگالہ رفتند سان راجب دیدہ اند

(24) The exact verses are :—

در بنارس مجلس آرا شد کہ هست آب از خوب و هرايش دلکش
ساخت بہر بزم خرد شدہ صفہ تا درو سازند بہر عیش جا

vide Bayazid, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

(25) See Hidayat Hosain's edition of Bayazid cited already, pp. 303, 304. The chronogram of the repair and rebuilding of the tower is given incorrectly in the prose account as *suffa-i-Humayun Badshah* which would be $175+380+112+313=980$ A.H., but the correct chronogram as given in Mulla Fathi's verse is *Suffa-i-Humayun Badshah* or 975 A.H., 1567-68 A.D.

(26) It was probably a Banyan—*Ficus bengalensis* Linn. and not a Pipal—*Ficus religiosa* Linn. on to which Bayazid fixed his inscribed stone, even though he states that it was Pipli tree—this is the Hindi name for the Pipal tree, see Duthie, *Flora of the Upper Gangetic Plain* etc., Vol. III, pt. i, pp. 150, 151 (Calcutta, 1915).

apparently encamped there for some time in 1538-39 A.D. while he was proceeding to Bihar and Bengal against Sher Shah Sur. While staying there he had a tower built over the Dhamek Stupa. This tower was fully repaired and renovated by Bayazid in 1567-68 A.D. Govardhan or Govardhandhari had a new memorial erected in 1587-88 A.D. in place of the one which was built in 1538-39, and renovated and repaired in 1567-68 A.D. The generally accepted view that the building in question was erected by Emperor Akbar in memory of his father's visit to the place is incorrect. The simple, somewhat dilapidated octagonal tower harmonises well with the ruins of the Stupa on which it was erected, but is of no architectural or artistic interest.

I have also to record here my indebtedness to my friends, Prof. M. Mahfuz-al Huq, and Khan Bahadur Muhammed Shafi, for help in the correct reading of the inscription.

BAINI PRASHAD

Episcopal Palaces in Calcutta

IT was on 2nd May, 1814 when Letters Patent were issued constituting to the British Territories in India, a "Bishop's See" to be called "The Bishopric of Calcutta", subject to the Archbishopal See of Canterbury. On the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company with Parliament, this matter was given effect to and the Diocese of Calcutta was defined, as extending from Delhi to Cape Comorin and from the river Indus to the mouth of the river Ganges. In fact, all India constituted one large Diocese at this period, which extended as far as the Straits Settlement including the island of Ceylon and beyond to Borneo and Australia.

The appointment of the Bishop of Calcutta was vested in the Crown and defined by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of England, incorporating also the appointment of the first Archdeacons of Bengal (Henry Lloyd Loring) Madras, (John Mousley) and Bombay (George Barnes) which were vested in the Crown, but His Majesty's Government in the Letters Patent delegated, the future appointments of all Archdeacons to the Bishop of Calcutta from among the clergy in India.

The first Bishop to be appointed to the See, was Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, Archdeacon of Huntingdon in the county of Lincolnshire. He was consecrated first Bishop of Calcutta on 8th May, 1814 at Lambeth Palace Chapel—one would have expected, that this important consecration would have taken place in Westminster Abbey or at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, but this honour was not accorded until many years later when Bishop Cotton, was consecrated sixth Bishop of Calcutta at Westminster Abbey in 1858 by the Archbishop of Canterbury Dr. Charles Manners Sutton, assisted by the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisbury and the Provincial Dean, Chancellor and Precentor of Canterbury Cathedral.

FIRST BISHOP'S PALACE.

On the appointment of Bishop Middleton to the See, no provision was made for a house for him nor was any allowance granted for rent, to enable him to hire a suitable building for his use. In the circumstances, when the Bishop arrived in Calcutta on 28th November 1814, he and his family stayed for a few days with the Honourable Mr. Archibald Seton, a Member of Council, until a house was found near the Cathedral, in Council House Street, to which the Bishop removed. This house was said to have been the only in the street at that time and was situated on the site where now stand the premises of the Alliance Bank of Simla. The house however, was soon found not to be suitable for the purposes of an Episcopal Palace and the Bishop was obliged to remove to a larger house in Chowringhee during the following year.

The new Palace was probably the large building situated at the north-west corner of Park street and Chowringhee, where today stand the pile of buildings known as Chowringhee Mansions. It had an enclosed verandah forty feet long by thirteen feet wide, which adjoined the Bishop's library and at the other end of it, was the Bishop's dressing-room. This house was later occupied by the celebrated Doctor, Mr. Simon Nicholson, Physician to the Marquis of Dalhousie, Governor-General of India (1848-1856), when the diagonal road across the maidan was constructed to enable the doctor to have quick and easy access to Government House. Old residents may remember the statue of "Mercury" which used to ornament the balustrade of this avenue at the Chowringhee end, and which now adorns the grounds of Belvedere. The house of the doctor was later occupied by the United Service Club, until the club removed to its new premises across Kyd street.

Not many of us on our way to the Royal Botanical gardens are aware, when passing the handsome and stately group of buildings commonly known as Bishop's college—now a Government civil engineering college—that these ecclesiastical looking buildings were erected by Bishop Middleton, on what used to be the site of a teakwood plantation, as a college of Theosophy and named by him Bishop's Mission college. The whole plan and arrangements of this college were designed by the Bishop in the Collegiate Gothic style and in the Chapel he built a vault for himself, directing in his will that his remains should be buried there, if the Chapel was completed and consecrated before his death. The chapel however was not ready when the Bishop died and in consequence he was buried in an ordinary grave in the chancel of his Cathedral, the site of which is marked by a black marble slab.

PALACE IN FORT WILLIAM.

On the appointment of Bishop Reginald Heber to the See of Calcutta, it was arranged that the company would provide him with a suitable house, but for some reason the official instructions to this effect were not sent out to the Indian Government before the Bishop's arrival here on 10th October 1823. Through the kindness of the Governor-General, Lord Amherst, he was however, accommodated at "Government House" built within the present Fort William.

The Bishop, who lived in no fewer than five different houses during his bishopric, including one at Titaghur, gives us the following description of the building in the fort:—

"It consisted of a lofty, well proportioned hall forty feet long by twenty-five feet wide, with a drawing-room of the same dimensions and six or seven other rooms on the same floor, one of which was converted into a chapel. The lower storey consisted chiefly of offices and lobbies. There were many doors and windows on every side and the floors were of plaister covered with mats. The flat ceilings were of bricks also plaistered and supported on massive beams neatly painted. The walls were white and bare, fitted with glass-lamps filled with Coconut oil, while hanging from the ceilings of the principal apartments,

were punkahs with large frames of light wood, covered with white cotton material".

This house was originally built as a residence for the Governors-General of India, but was never used for this purpose, although Lord Clive lived in it for a short while. The structure, now known as the "Outram Institute", is used for the Sergeant's mess.

It is evident that, in the meantime, it was proposed to build a suitable "Episcopal Palace", for we read in a Government resolution dated 27th November 1823, of the postponement of the building of a Bishop's Palace, until further orders were received from the Court of Directors and that for the time being, the Government permitted the Bishop to rent a suitable house on a monthly rental of from Rupees 500/- to 600/-

PALACE AT TITAGHUR.

The Bishop, finding the Fort residence unhealthy, removed sometime during January 1824 to a large house in Titaghur, the property of Doctor N. Wallich, the Danish Superintendent of the Botanical gardens, which this gentleman had placed at the Bishop's disposal. This charming house, ideally situated on the banks of the river, stood beside the Shiva Pagodas and the ghat. It was also at about this time, that the Diocese of Calcutta was further extended, embracing Asia, Africa, St. Helena, China and New Zealand.

Finding this house far too distant from the city, the Bishop next removed his residence in March of the same year to No. 3 Harrington street, for which he paid a monthly rent of Rupees Five hundred. Disatisfied with this house, which he found too small and at an inconvenient distance from his Cathedral, he engaged Mr. William Leycester's Mansion at No. 7/1, Middleton Place—now Middleton Row—at a rental of Rupees six hundred and removed into it for a few months on 1st. April, 1824.

PALACE AT MIDDLETON PLACE.

This historical building, now Loretto House, was so far as it is known, the residence in 1749 of Mr. William Frankland, Sixth of Council. Sometime during February 1761 it was proposed by the Government to purchase the property as a garden house for the Governor of Fort William, but the Court of Directors did not feel disposed to do so and withheld sanction. In the circumstances, Mr. Henry Vansittart, Governor of Fort William (1760-1764) purchased the property privately for his own use in 1762, for about 1000 Arcot Rupees. The building to-day is the oldest existing house in the city, that was used by a Governor of Bengal. On 1st November 1769 Mr. Vansittart sold this property to Mr. George Vansittart for the sum of Rs. 41,000. Strangely on a pane of glass, inspected by the writer on one of the doors in a classroom on the ground floor, is scratched the name "George Vansittart Junr. Born June 1768", presumably a son of the owner.

At a later period the mansion was occupied by Sir Elijah Impey, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (1774-1782) when it was known as "Impey's

Palace". On 1st August 1782 the property was sold to Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Watson, Chief Engineer of the Presidency and Henry Halsey for the sum of Rs. 80,000/- and on 20th August of the same year, they sold it to Charles Scott. The property at this period was described as a "messuage and 819 bighas of ground in Dhee Birjee", and was sold on 12th August 1784 to John Dyneley for Rs. 83,156/-. On 1st. March of the following year this gentleman sold it to John Bristow for £7,250/- and on 2nd February 1806 John Bristow's heir, John Charles Bristow, sold it to Samuel Middleton of the Bengal Civil Service, who acted, for a while, as Police Magistrate and after whom "Middleton Row" is named. By this time it is said, that the grounds of the property had reduced considerably in area and measured only 43 Bighas 9 Cottahs and 8 Chitaks. On 30th August 1811, Samuel Middleton sold it to John Palmer, the Prince of Merchants, and others, who later sold it to William Leycester on 22nd August 1822.

The Bishop soon found this mansion far too large. The drawing-room on the first floor was sixty-seven feet long, with a dining-room on the ground floor directly beneath it of the same dimensions and a study forty-five feet square supported with arcades, behind the dining-room. The mansion stood in an extensive deer-park, stretching from Russell Street to Camac Street, surrounded by a fine wall with a large round tank, on the site of which stands the present St. Thomas' Church. The grounds were so immense and wooded, that the Bishop was provided with a guard of Sipahis to patrol the grounds and guard the house at night. The Sipahis were also allowed to fire their guns and muskets occasionally during the night to keep off dacoits. Middleton Row of to-day was the central drive to the Mansion through a fine Avenue of large shady trees.

On 30th September 1824, the Government sent the Bishop an extract from a dispatch from the Court of Directors in which permission was given to build a Palace for a sum not exceeding Rupees 60,000/- or to rent a suitable house for a sum not exceeding Rupees 600/- per month. The Government added, that they preferred the latter as in their opinion, it would be almost impossible to construct a suitable Palace without exceeding the sum assigned. The Bishop in the meantime however, continued to reside at Middleton Row until he left on tour on 15th June 1824, but on his return, in October of the following year, it is very probable that he resided at No. 5 Russell street.

It was during October 1835 when the Middleton Place property was purchased by Colonel Duncan MacLeod and others and finally sold to Messrs. John Lackersteen & Brothers in June 1841 for the community of the Loretto House. It is perhaps not known to many that the large three-storeyed house, known as No. 6 Park Street, which, until recent years, stood on the site of the present modern "STEPHEN COURT," was at one time, the official residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. It was here that Sir John Peter Grant lived from 1859 to 1862, before the extensive property known as Belvedere, with its richly-wooded grounds, was purchased by the Government. The Belvedere Mansion, was also the residence of Sir Edward Paget, Commander-in-Chief in India, from 1813 to 1825.

PALACE IN RUSSELL STREET.

The Government finally rented the premises at No. 5 Russell Street from Mr. James Pattle, Member of the Board of Revenue, for the official residence of the Bishop of Calcutta, on a rental of Rupees six hundred per month on a lease for eleven years, dating from 1st January 1826. The house was situated in Dhee Birjee and Chowkerbar—now known as "Chowringhee"—in the most airy part of the suburbs on the southern side of the city, about a mile and a half away from St. John's Cathedral, and was considered to be, the best built house in that locality. It was a large structure built in Grecian style of architecture with a long, deep, colonnade to each storey on the southern front to protect it from the sun, and each verandah was also fitted with green blinds made of cane. The rooms were of noble size and proportion, the largest being the Dining-room, a double cube, nearly eighty feet long with the windows fitted with venetian blinds. The entrance to the house was from a spacious covered portico, under which carriages drove in. It is very probable that, at this period, the building also had a gateway in Chowringhee, as there were no other buildings around it, such as we see to-day.

This property originally belonged to Colonel Mark Wood, who sold it to John Ubric Collins and Mr. Collins later sold it to Russick Lall Dutt. In December 1823 Mr. Dutt died at Benares and his son Woodoy Chand Dutt agreed to sell the property to Mr. James Pattle, on 30th January 1824, for the sum of Rs. 95,000/- and received Rs. 250/- as earnest money. Disputes however arose. But finally, the matter was settled on a further payment of Rs. 5,000/- making the total purchase price Rupees one lakh.

The release was an indenture between Woodoy Chand Dutt on the one part and James Pattle Esq. C.S. and Richard Chicheley Plowden C.S. on the other part. Mr. Plowden appears to have been Trustee for James Pattle. This house was described as:—

"All that Messuage Tenement or Dwelling House, late of one Russick Lall Dutt, but now of the said Woodoy Chand Dutt together with the land or ground to the same belonging and therewith occupied and enjoyed, formerly the property of Colonel Mark Wood and afterwards of John Ubric Collins Esq. and situate and being in Dhee Birjee and Chowkerbar otherwise now called Chowringhee . . . containing by estimation 12 bighas . . . and bounded on the north by landed property formerly also of the said Mark Wood but now or late of Colonel Thomas Wood on the south by landed property formerly of or belonging to Charles Short Esq. but now in the occupation of Major Higgins, on the east by the Public Road there leading north and south and now called Russell street and on the west by the great Public Road there called Chowringhee Road."

During October 1826 Archdeacon Corrie—the first Bishop of Madras—occupied the Palace and considering it unsafe, he reported the matter to Government, who appointed a committee of Engineers, consisting of Colonel C. Mouat, Captain Edward Garstin and Lieutenant N. Forbes to examine the house. Their report dated 13th November stated that the building was quite

safe and that the walls were adequate to support the superincumbent weight of the third floor. The house however was thoroughly repaired during 1827 for the occupation of Bishop James.

Bishop Turner, who occupied it at a later date, desired to change his residence during 1830 but was informed, that this could not be done as the house had been taken on a lease for the period of the Charter. On 7th June 1831 he again wrote to the Government about the condition of the house, enclosing a report from Mr. Parker, an architect, who had carefully examined the building and pronounced the north and south walls of the principal hall as unsafe. This led to extensive repairs and the house was not ready for occupation again, until the middle of November, 1831. Bishop Turner unfortunately had died on 7th July, 1831.

Bishop Wilson who arrived in Calcutta on 5th November 1832, also lived in the Russell Street Palace and continued to do so, ever after the expiry of the lease, on 1st January 1837. In the meantime, Mr. James Pattle had sold the property to the Honourable the East India Company on 30th June 1838 for the sum of Rupees 75,000/-. Twelve years later, Bishop Wilson, on 23rd March 1849, expressed his intentions for changing his residence to a building nearer his Cathedral, and during June of the following year, he removed to the present Palace at 51 Chowringhee opposite his Cathedral.

PALACE IN CHOWRINGHEE

This house was the property of Mr. Wilberforce Bird B.C.S., Senior Member of Council, from whom the Bishop purchased it during 1850 for Rupees 55,000/- in exchange for the Palace in Russell Street, which also still remained his property. It was not until after Bishop's death that the Russell Street house was sold in 1863 by the executors of his Will to His Highness Prince Golam Mohammed. The Advocate General estimated the property, as not worth more than Rupees 60,000/-.

The Bishop spent a further sum of Rupees 24,000/- on improving the Chowringhee Palace before he occupied it and the structure has not undergone many changes since. It would be of interest to mention here, that at this period there was no drainage, lighting or water supply system in the city. The kutchra roads were provided with horrible open drains and lit by clumsy dull oil lamps, while water was provided from insanitary tanks. There were no footpaths, the first being constructed in 1858 from Dhurumtalla to the Cathedral. The New Market was not built until 1871-1872.

WILLIAM S. BIRNEY.

The Grant of Village Bispi to Vidyapati Thakur

(From unpublished historical records)

IN 1929 I requested Mr. Sadhusaran who was inspecting the historical records preserved in the Record room of the Collector of Darbhanga to let me have all references available therein to the grant of the village Bispi to Vidyapati Thakur by Maharaja Siva Simha including the alleged copper-plate grant which was declared by Sir George A. Grierson to be a forged document.

He sent me a copy of the grant. It reads—

SRI RAMA

Sri Gouri Sankarabhyam namah || Siddhih || Gajarathapurat Samastaprakriyavirajamana Sri Paramesvari-vara-labdha-prasada Bhavani bhaktiparayana Rupanarayana Maharajadhiraja Srimat Siva-Simha-devapadah Samaravijayinah Jaraila tayyayam (?) Visapai gramavastavyasakala-lokan bhukarsakams 'ca samadisanti jnatamastu bhavatam gramoyamasabhih saprakriyabhinavajayadeva maharaja-pandita Thakkura Sri Vidyapatibhyah sasanikrtya pradatto . . . La Sam 293 || Sravana Sukla 7 Gurau || Slokastu || abde Laksmasena-bhupatimate bahnigraha dvayankite masi sravanasamjnake munitithau . . . la . . . gurau || Bagmatya saritastate gajarathetyakhya . . . Bisapinamasimatah || Sri Vidyapatissarmane Sukavaye putradimadbhumjatam sa sriman Sivasimhadevanrpatirgramam dade sasanam || (lines 1—11 ; lines 12—22 I am omitting) ||

Vainam gramaratnam nripakararhitam palyanti . . . San 807 Samvat 1455 Sake 1321 || Subhamastu Srirastu ||

In this document certain features demand attention :—

(1) the Viruda Rupanarayana which goes with Maharaja Siva Simha in the *padas* of Vidyapati,

(2) the titles *Saprakriyabhinavajayadeva*, *maharaja pandita-Thakkura* and *Sukavi* in *Sri-Vidyapati-sarmane sukavaye*. In numerous *padas* the poet Vidyapati has styled himself *Sukavi* and *Abhinava-Jayadeva*. The title *Saprakriya* was worn by Vidyapati's ancestors, e.g., in the colophon to the *Rajaniti-ratnakara* of Candessvara, the grand-uncle of Vidyapati we find "iti *saprakriya*-maha-sandhi-vigrahika-thakkura-Sri Viresvaratmaja-Sri Candessvara-viracite."

Candessvara was the minister of Hari Simha Deva, the last king of the Karnat dynasty of Mithila, who retired before the imperial forces under Ghiyasuddin Tughluq in the winter of A.D. 1324. The Mithila chronicles

give Hari Simha a reign of 20 years (1304-1324 A.C.). Vidyapati flourished within seventy years or so from Hari Simha Deva's time.(1)

Dr. Grierson declared the copper-plate to be a forgery, some of his reasons being that the script is Devanagri instead of Maithili, and there is the rather unusual mention of four dates therein, especially of San 807 (San being introduced by Akbar).

There is one difficulty regarding the date, viz., La Sam 293, in Kielhorn's reckoning, should yield A.D. 1412 which does not tally with A.D. 1399-1400 which we get from San 807, Sam 1455 and Saka 1321—three other dates mentioned therein.

According to Kielhorn the Laksmāna Sena era began on 7th October, 1119 A.C., hence 1119 has to be added to La Sam to yield A.D. year. H. Pandeya refers to this very Bispi grant (in *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. IV, *Janibigha Inscription*) and says that it would make La Sam begin in 1106 A.C. MM. H. P. Sastri says (*ibid*, p. 19) that Vidyapati got a Maithili commentary on the *Kavyaprakāsa* which he asked some scribes to copy. "The post colophon gives the date 291, reduced to A.D. it will come to 1406 or 1407." He therefore adds 1115. But all scholars have not accepted the date proposed by Kielhorn.(2)

Vidyapati wrote his last work *Durgabhaktitarangini* under Hriday Narayana whose date 1447 (La Sam 329) is obtained from the *Karnaparvan* of Mahabharata (*J.B.R.O.S.*, Vol. X, p. 48, also XIII, p. 299). B. K. Chatterji and Sivanandan Thakur say that the poet died in 1448 and all are agreed that he had a long life. He seems to have been born sometime about the middle of the 14th Century. So there is no improbability in his obtaining the grant of village Bispi about the year 1400. The grant is acknowledged in *padas* of the poet. The copper-plate in question seems to be a forgery but the grant is genuine. It seems that the original grant having been lost, a fake was substituted by his descendants.

Mr. Sadhusaran examined some of the Permanent Settlement papers in Persian and tried to find out the remarks made against village Biswi in purgannah Jarail, but as the pages relating to it were altogether damaged and in fragments he could not make out anything. He looked into the Minhāi registers (which are kept in *basta* under double lock) i.e. registers containing names of villages which were made rent free by virtue of *sanads* and *farmans* granted to the holders' ancestors and found mention of the village Biswi in pergunnah Jarail having been granted to Vidyapati Thakur by Siva Simha in 807 Fasli.

"The lands thus made rent-free were of various sorts namely Brohmotar, Shivotar, Bishnu-pirit etc."

At the time of the resumption of the village the descendants of Vidyapati

(1) K. P. Jayasawal—*Rajaniti ratnakara*, Introduction, pp. 13-15.

(2) For a discussion of the Lakshmanasena Era see *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Dacca University, 1943), pp. 233ff. "We must therefore hold that the initial year of the era, as reckoned at different times and places, varied between 1108 and 1120 A.D.

Thakur produced certain *sanads* and *farmans* in support of their claim of which mention has been made.

1. Maharaja Raghab Singh, always victorious in war, to Shri Tula Krishna Sharma of village Bishwi in pergana Jarail under sarkar Tirhut—has already been given by Maharaja Shiva Singh free of rent to your family—please enjoy the produce thereof from generation to generation—Aghan Badi 9, Saturday, 1193 Fasli.

2. Maharaj Shri Narendra Singh—this is the deed of gift to Sri Jivanath of village Biswi, pargana Jarail, under Sarkar Tirhut—that the above village which from before continues in your family as Brahmotar—I too order that the same continue in your family free from the payment of any tax. It is advisable that you and your descendants from generation to generation should hold the land and enjoy the produce thereof—Dated Aswin Badi the 11th, 1185 Fasli.

3. Maharaj Pratap Singh to Jivanath Thakur—the village Biswi in pargana Jarail under Sarkar Tirhut which continues in your family as Brahmotar from a long time before—knowing this—I also confer a *sanad* emphasising this same gift of land to continue in your family to your sons and grandsons and that you and your family and descendants shall hold the same and enjoy the produce thereof from generation to generation free from payment of any rent or other charges—Dated Baisakh Sudi 11 of year 1172 Fasli.

4. Maharaj Sri Sri Madhav Singh Bahadur . . . to Jivanath Thakur—(contents)—that village Biswi in pargana Jarail under Sarkar Tirhoot which has been continuing in your family from the time of my predecessors—knowing this to be a fact, I too confer on you and your family a *sanad* emphasising that the same do continue in your family and to you and your sons and grandsons and then you and your descendants do hold the same and enjoy and appropriate to your use and that of your family the produce thereof. Dated Jaistha Krishna 11th day of the year 1186 Fasli.

5. Sri Ram, Sri Durga, Sri Madhav, Sri Ganesh—Maharaj Sri Sri Chhatra Singh Bahadur, always victorious, etc.,—to Sri Bhaia Thakur—(contents)—that village Biswi in pargana Jarail under Sarkar Tirhut in the province of Behar which from before all the Maharajas by virtue of several *sanads* has been continuing in your family from a long time past. In a similar manner I too in accordance with the usage current assert and confer the above village on you and your family should hold and enjoy the same and that you and your sons and grandsons do enjoy and appropriate to your use and that of your descendants from generation to generation dated Basakh Badi 7th day of the year 1218 Fasli.

(From Persian)

6. The seal mentions the name of Alamgir Badsah Ghazi and that of Maharaja Rani Narayan Bahadur dated 1171 Fasli.

This *sanad* of Bishnu Pirit relates that village Biswi in pargana Jarail which was given by Maharaja Dhiraj Shiva Singh to Vidyapati Thakur and which is in the possession of Jivanath Thakur should continue in the possession of Jivanath Thakur and his descendants.

7. The seal mentions the name of Shah Alam Badshah Ghazi Bahadur—Malikul Mulk—Mir Shamsuddin Ali Khan Muzaffur Mansur al Daula dated 1174 Fasli.

This *sanad* also recites the gift made to Vidyapati Thakur and of the village Biswi continuing in the family of Jivanath Thakur at present who is described in this *sanad* as descendant of Vidyapati Thakur and directs that the said village should as of old continue in the said family to the heirs and descendants of Jivanath Thakur—dated the 24th day of Jamadiul-awal.

8. The seal mentions the name of Shah Alam Badshah Ghazi along with Mumtazul Mulk Maharajah Shitab Ray Bahadur—Naib Sarkar Tirhut—This *sanad* also recites like all the others mentioned above the gift made to Vidyapati Thakur and says that the said village is in the possession of his descendants and that it should remain in the possession of the family and its descendants. The *sanad* is dated the 27th of Shawal of 13th year from the Jaloos or coronation.

9. The seal mentions the name of Narendranarayan Sarkar and is dated 1183 Fasli. This *sanad* also recites the gift to Vidyapati Thakur and says that the property is continuing in that family and that the same should be allowed to continue in the said family and its descendants and heirs.

10. The seal mentions that it is the mohur of Kachari for the inspection of *sanads* of Jaigirs of Subah Behar and is dated 1193 Fasli.

This *sanad* also says that the village of Biswi in pergana Jarail under sarkar Tirhoot is in the family of Eknath Thakur (who is described as a descendant of Vidyapati Thakur to whom the gift was originally made) and says that the said gift should continue in that family and nobody should interfere with the family and its heirs and descendants in the possession thereof.

Dated 23rd March, 1786 corresponding to the 9th Chait, 1193 Fasli.

Crown *versus* Bhaia Thakur and others.—Decisions of suit regarding Lakhraj of village Biswi of purganah Jarail—lands resumed in accordance with regulation 2 of 1819 and 3 of 1828 and the suit is dated 16th of July, 1837 (A.D.).

Report of the Record-keeper (in 1837)

In the book of Nawab Hoshier Jung Bahadur dated 1180 Fasli the said villages are entered as Brahmotar at an annual cess of 46 rupees only in the name of Eknath Thakur a descendant of Vidyapath Thakur.

It is also entered in the time of Maharaja Pratap Singh as bermotar in 1167 Fasli.

In the time of Nawab Sirajuddowlah 1165 it is so entered.

In the Amin's daftar—in the Minhai registers of the years 1190 and 1191 the said villages are entered as Brahmotar in the names of Eknath and Vidyapath Thakur in accordance with the *sanad* dated the 807 Fasli of Maharaja Shiva Singh.

1187—The date of the *sanad* of Maharaja Raghu Singh. And in the book of 1168 to 1171 there is also mention of this gift of 807 to Vidyapath Thakur.

1224—These villages Biswi Asli measuring one thousand and two hundred and one bigha and the other Dakhli (Biswi) one thousand and four hundred bighas have been continuing as Brahmotar from the year 807 Fasli in the family

of Vidyapath Thakur and after his death to Eknath Thakur and his heirs and descendants and after the death of Eknath Thakur to Bhaia Thakur as Brahmotar—are in possession of the said villages and in the book of Minhais dated the 1198 Fasli the said villages are entered as brahmotar in accordance with the *sanad* conferred on Vidyapath Thakur by Maharajadhiraj Shiva Sinha under date 807 Fasli Sarwan Sukul Thursday and now in the possession of Bhaia Thakur a descendant of the said Vidyapath Thakur.

1202—In the Minhais Register dated 1202 the said villages are described as Vishun Pirit according to the *sanad* of Maharaja Shiva Sinha given to Vidyapath Thakur.

Dated 2nd Sawan 1218 Fasli (The entry in the Minhais Register is under this date and the *sanad* referred to is dated 807 as above noted in the month of Sarwan).

In the Record-keeper's reports these dates are noted thus—

Sanad of Shiva Singh—dated Sawan 807.

Sanad of Ragho Singh—dated 9th of Aghan 1193 Fasli in the name of Vidyapatt Thakur in the possession of his heirs and at present in the possession of Bhaia Thakur.

Sanad of Narendra Singh, 1185—dated 1185 Fasli—also to the same effect.

Sanad of Pratap Singh—Dated Baisakh Sudi the 11th day of the year 1172 Fasli.

Sanad of Maharaja Ram Narayan and with his seal—Under date the 2 years after the coronation of Shah Alam.

Sanad with the seal of Mir Mohammad Quazim Khan Bahadur—Under date the 11th day of Shawal in the year 6th after the Jaloos of Shah Alam.

Sanad with the seal of Mir Shamsuddin Ali Khan Bahadur—Under date the 4th Jamadial Awal in the 16th year of Jaloos of Shah Alam.

Sanad with the seal of Maharaja Shitab Rai—Under date the 27th of Shawal of the 13th year after the Jaloos.

Sanad of Maharaja Madho Singh—Under date Jeth Badi the 11th of the year 1186 Fasli—to the same effect.

Last *Sanad* with the seal of Mohur Katchery for the inspection of Jaigir lands—Under date the 23rd of March, 1786.

The above is the report of the Record keeper of the time when the lands were ultimately resumed by Government.

There is a volume containing grounds for resuming village Biswi in pargana Jarail under sarkar Tirhoot from the descendants of Vidyapath Thakur as appear from the decision of the case.

“(1) From an inspection of the *sanads* and *parwanas* of the Maharajas filed in this case it does not appear that those villages were to continue in that family from generation to generation. The permanent character of the grant cannot be proved from the nature of documents in evidence.

(2) It does not appear how it was made free from the payment of rent—with what object in view it was made Lakhiraj does not appear from the contents of the document making the grant.

(3) The signature of the person making the grant is very necessary to convince any reasonable man of the genuine character of the grant in question but nothing of the kind is found from the sanads filed in this case.

(4) That the said grant is illegal and invalid as the officials who are said to have granted those sanads had no power or authority to do that.

(5) That the time when the grant was made of the lands to Vidyapati Thakur refers to the time when Timur visited India and from that time onward to the time of Alamgir II the officers and Nazims of Subas had no authority to make such grants without the sanction of the Central Government at Delhi.

(6) As there is no reference in some of the later sanads of the grant of land made to Vidyapath Thakur in 807, there is no seal or signature in the original deed of grant, so it appears that the whole thing is a forged one and the possession of the descendants of Vidyapath Thakur over the property is illegal and wrongful.

(7) That in the purwana of Mir Shamsuddin dated the 4th of Jamadiul-Awal, 3 years after the Jaloos of Shah Alam Badshah it is nowhere mentioned that the nature of the gift was of a permanent character.

(8) It does not appear how this deed of grant of land is again emphasised by a parwana bearing the seal of Maharajah Shitab Ray dated the 27th day of Shawal 13 years after the Jaloos of Shah Alam ? (Illegible in Persian) Badshah i.e. seven years after the British rule in India.

There are therefore reasons to believe that the deed of grant is a forgery, the parwanas do not tally one with another, they do not bear proper seal or signature, the permanent character of the grant is not deducible from their contents and the officers who are said to have made the grant of lands in question had not the power to do that.

Under the above circumstances the said lands are fit to be resumed by Government."

At Patna (Azimabad) there were persons who earned their livelihood by forging royal sanads as the *Dastur-ulAmal* mentions that in the reign of Alamgir the Dewan sent Saifuddin the macebearer to Azimabad to make enquiries respecting sanads of jagirs, altamgha etc., and he detected many forgeries. A forger named Mir Muhibullah continued to earn his livelihood by this means down to the subadari of Mahabat Jung (Aliverdi), collusion was practised in respect of Minhais (rent-free) lands on the strength of sanads forged for the purpose and bearing the seal of the Emperor Shah Alam which could be manufactured for Rs. 150/- only. There is mention of the wholesale forging of documents and the cost of preparing the royal seals in the *Fifth Report*. "Nawab Hushyar Jung i.e. George Vansittart tried to examine the *sanads* of Minhais lands but Maharaja Shitab Rai stood in his way." (3)

In the Muzaffarpur records I find a letter addressed by William Bushley, Superintendent of Rent Free Lands in Bihar to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, the Governor General and Council—from Patna under date 11th January, 1785 extracts from which I am quoting.—

(a) "I do not conceive that the measure will prove either rigorous or unjust as their dilatoriness proceeds not from any dread of their being dispossessed if lawfully entitled to them, but from a conviction either of their jaigirs being resumable in conformity to the institution of the ancient Moghul Government or the grants by which they hold them being either false or forged." (b) "I have applied to the Revenue Chief here for Mr. George Vansittart's Investigation together with a Register of Rent-free lands formed by that gentleman in the year 1773 but have been informed by Mr. Brooke that they are not in his possession. I must therefore request that you will be pleased to give orders to your Secretary to furnish me with a copy of them."

The *Dastur* says: "In 1192 Fasli/1785 A.D. Mr. William Leslie,(4) the chief and his second Mr. Holt came to Azimabad to check the sanads on behalf of the E. I. Co. On account of the ignorance of the ways of clerks they were unable to correct (detect?) the forgeries."(5)

The tradition of the grant of the village Bispi by Siva Simha to Vidyapati has been continuing for five centuries and nobody has ever suggested that the reference to the grant by the poet in his *padas* is a later interpolation. It appears therefore that the grant of the village to the poet was genuine. The descendants of Vidyapati were in possession of the village till it was resumed by Government in 1837 and their names were recorded in Nawab Hoshiar Jung's Bahi and Minhaj Register. If they infringed the terms and were in illegal possession, it is a remarkable instance of their having eluded the vigilance of the officers concerned for over four centuries.

K. P. MITRA.

(4) Misread for Bushley. (?)

(5) *Ibid*, p. 181.

The Early History of the Patna College

(Continued from the last issue)

CHAPTER 2.

PERIOD OF BEGINNINGS, 1863-1881

The history of the College, from 1863 to the present day, may be broadly divided into five well-marked and distinctive periods (i) 1863-'81, (ii) 1881-1902, (iii) 1902-'09, (iv) 1909-'27 and (v) 1927—present day. The first eighteen years, 1863-'81 may be described as a period of beginnings, and of these, the first few years, especially till 1867, were characterised by the continuance of the school traditions. Nevertheless, these years were marked by steady development. McCrindle observes in his report of the year 1865-66: “. . . . from all that I have seen of the institution during the short time I have been connected with it, I consider it to be in a sound and hopeful condition. The students are well conducted and most desirous to improve, and I quite concur with Prof. Rogers in the commendation which he has bestowed upon the masters generally. I would especially note the efficiency of Mr. Behrendt, the Headmaster, the great interest he takes in his work and his readiness to co-operate in all measures for the good of the Institution.”(1)

1. BUILDING AND ACCOMMODATION.

As the building of the Patna City School, was “found in every way unsuitable for the accommodation of the college”, and as no other “sufficiently commodious” building was available nearby, the junior classes remained in the city school building and the senior classes were, with the sanction of the Lieutenant Governor, transferred to the lower storey of the old Collectorate at Bankipore in February 1863. Later on, the entire Collectorate building was proposed to be given up to the college by the removal of the Police and Record offices located there to another house. The rent of it (Rs. 90/- a month) was to be paid jointly by the College and the Professor-in-charge, Mr. J. K. Rogers, the latter occupying the upper floor for his residence.(2)

(1) pp. 521-22.

(2) *R. P. I.*, 1862-3, pp. 281 ff. In 1862-3 the last 2 classes of the school (6th and 7th) were accommodated partly in the city, partly in the Bankipur area. (*Ibid*). Next year (1863-4), the accommodation of the classes was as follows: The two college classes, the Entrance (13), 1st (12), 2nd (16), and 3rd (28) classes were held at Bankipur, the 5th class (26) was held in the Patna City, while the 4th (63), 6th (79) and 7th (77) classes were held partly at Bankipur and partly in the City. (*R. P. I.*, 1863-4); the 4th class was formed in the Bankipur portion of the collegiate school. But in 1864-5, “portions of the lower four of the classes” were located in the Patna City for the convenience of the local residents. (*R. P. I.*, 1864-5, p. 538 f.).

The Patna College was originally housed in the Dutch factory building of the 17th century.(3) It consisted of an old block, with a central hall upstails (measuring in 1911, 98' x 23' 6"). It is impossible, in 1943, to imagine, how only the central part of the main building (as it existed before the earthquake of 1934) without the two wings, could have ever accommodated not only the college, but some portions of the school as well. In fact, it may veritably be regarded as the protoplasm, the embryonic structure, of the Patna College, which developed slowly but steadily into the present system of massive buildings forming the college and the University area.

At its inception, the College was fortunate in being able to secure the liberal munificence of some members of the landed aristocracy of Bihar, made with the object of endowing it, and the Building Fund so set up supplied the sinews of expansion in future. The first to come forward was the late Nawab Bahadur Nawab al Haj Syed Wellayet Ali Khan Saheb, C.I.E., the grandson of Meer Abdoolah, (Syed Abdullah Saheb), a wealthy banker of Patna and the founder of the present Guzri Nawab family (the ancestor of a distinguished citizen of Patna, Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail). An enlightened and public-spirited nobleman of Patna, and a pioneer of English education in Bihar, the Nawab co-operated with his friend, Dr. J. Sutherland, Secretary of the Local Committee of Public Instruction, Patna, by contributing the generous sum of Rs. 5000, which was augmented by his uncle's contribution of equal amount,(4) towards building "a new college with a branch".

Forwarding the offer of the Nawab, the Commissioner of Patna suggested (22nd January, 1863) to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William, that a branch school should be established "towards the eastern end of the city and a college somewhere near the opium godown." (5) In reply, the officiating Junior Secretary, Bengal Government (Mr. S. C. Bayley) wrote to the Commissioner of Patna (31 Jan. 1863) that the Lt.-Governor trusted that through the munificence of the Nawab and of other wealthy residents of Patna Division, a fund might shortly "be raised, which augmented by an equal amount from Government, will be sufficient to build a college worthy of its object both in respect of capacity and of design." (6)

(3) Speaking of it Bowrey (1669-1679) observed: "The Dutch have a factory here (at Patna) . . . but live with little freedom or Enjoyment of any worldly pleasures here, darcinge not to presume" to enter any of the Gates of the City without leave from some of the great offices". Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 225. The reference here is to the City of Sher, the western limit of which was the Pachchim Darawaza.

The classical Italian mouldings in the present office of the College, regarded by Principal Jackson as a probable indication that "the architect of the central portion of the College was the well-known Venetian, Tiretta, who built the Roman Catholic Church in Patna City about the same time. *P. C. M.*, Oct., 1926, p. 246. See *P. C. M.*, Oct., 1927, p. 3.

(4) *Brief Account of the Family and of the Life of late lamented Nawab Bahadur Nawab al Haj Syed Wellayet Ali Khan Saheb, C.I.E.* by Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail, M.L.C., p. 6. Letter of Secretary, Local Committee of Public Instruction, Patna to G. F. Cockburn, Commissioner of Patna (22nd January, 1863) in *ibid* 20. The Nawab, the 2nd son of Syed Medhi Ali Khan and was born on 23rd September, 1818.

(5) *Ibid.*, 21.

(6) *Ibid.*

The scheme for erecting Patna College was detailed in a notification of the Local Committee of Public Instruction, dated 28th February, 1863 :—

"The Local Committee of Public Instruction in Patna, with the sanction and approval of the Hon'ble the Lt.-Governor of Bengal, propose to endeavour to raise funds for the construction of a College at Patna, for the benefit of the people of the Province in general. Already some liberal and enlightened native gentlemen have come forward with liberal support to the scheme.

"It is estimated that a building suited to the object in view could not be erected for less than Rs. 8,10,000/- of which sum Government will contribute one half, provided that the other half be subscribed by the wealthy and influential gentlemen of the district.

"It is intended that the College should be a conspicuous and interesting structure, built, if practicable, on a large open space, so as to be visible from all sides.

"It is also intended to have the building of a kind that would be at once an ornament to the city and an object of general interest and attraction (like the Benares College) on account of its exterior architecture and interior decoration.

"The halls of the College would receive the chief donors, and the names of all the subscribers who contributed not less than Rs. 2,500 would be cut on marble slabs, and placed in conspicuous parts of the building, to perpetuate the names(7) and titles of the numerous persons who liberally contributed towards the erection of the College.

"The Hon'ble the Lt.-Governor has already conveyed his thankful acknowledgments to Syed Willayat Ali Khan for a donation of Rs. 5,000 and no doubt the Government will view with equal pleasure and satisfaction any similarly liberal contributions made by other gentlemen for the promotion of the highest branches of education in Bihar, and their names will be duly submitted for the information and orders of Government."

The Commissioner undertook to circulate the notification among the wealthy and influential gentlemen of this and neighbouring districts.(8)

From a subsequent notification dated Patna, 8th April, 1863, issued by G. F. Cockburn, the Commissioner, we come to know the names of subscribers(9):

	Rs.
1. Raja Bhoop Singh, Patna	2,000
2. Minor Maharaja of Darbhanga	5,000
3. Babu Guneshwar Singh of Darbhanga	{ Maharaja } 2,000
4. Babu Gopeshwar Singh ,, ,,	
5. Babu Niteswar Singh ,, ,,	
6. Syed Willayet Ali Khan, Patna	5,000
7. Syed Lutf Ali Khan, Patna	5,000

(7) 'To gratify the native gentry and act as an incentive to subscribe largely'.

(8) *R. P. I.*, 1862-3, p. 281 ff.

(9) Quoted in *Ismail*, 22-23. See also *ibid*, p. 31. (Address by Patna residents to Nawab, after the conferment of the title of Nawab, on 7th April, 1863.)

Government expected that a sum exceeding Rs. 50,000 would be raised.(10) By June, 1863, the subscription for the new building of the college reached 30,000(11) and Rs. 37,000 about three years later. A few months later the college building was under heavy repairs. The plot of ground to the South of the old building together with a strip of land to its east was selected as the site of the new college building, and the civil engineer was informed of the accommodation required.(12) But nothing was immediately done and two years after, the officiating Professor-in-charge, Mr. McCrindle, pressed upon the attention of the D.P.I. the urgency of increasing the accommodation in the college and expediting the work of construction of a new building. He observed in 1865-66: "The premises at present occupied are altogether inadequate for the proper accommodation of the classes, some of which are obliged to meet in the verandah, where there is not sufficient protection from the sun and the rain, while another class of large size meets in the lobby of building, under the staircase which leads to the upper floor. At the same time the regular classrooms are in such close juxtaposition that much considerable noise and confusion unavoidably arise. Under these circumstances, it is a matter of regret that nothing whatever seems to have been done in the course of the year towards the providing of a more suitable building, although sum of almost Rs. 37,000 has been raised by means of local subscriptions for this very purpose. Plans and estimates were, I believe, drawn up, but when submitted, were not approved at headquarters. They were revised, and again submitted, but have not yet, so far as I am aware, been sanctioned."(13) Next year, Mr. McCrindle, now Principal, again urged that the "present premises were not sufficiently spacious nor so well-adapted as was desirable for purposes of class instruction. Matters are now somewhat worse in this respect, and the erection of a suitable college building is still being deferred. I do trust that the boon will not much longer be withheld. It would be welcomed by the community whose leading members have shown a great interest in the matter by the liberality of the subscriptions towards the contemplated building."(14) During 1869-70, plans and estimates for improving the existing building, now regarded as "college property", and also for extending it by the addition of two wings, were submitted by the executive engineer of the Dinapore Division, and having been approved of by the Local Committee, were forwarded by the Commissioner of Patna to the Bengal Government. The total estimated cost for improvement and additions was Rs. 51,043, but the subscription received fell short of that amount by Rs. 8,834. So the commissioner, at the request of the Local Committee, asked the Government of Bengal whether it would authorise the commencement of the work,

(10) *R. P. I.*, 1862-3, p. 281 ff. The *D. P. I.'s report* (1862-3) refers to the contribution of Maharaja Rajendra Kishore Singh Bahadur of Bettiah and his brother to the amount of Rs. 4,000/- (p. 13).

(11) *R. P. I.*, 1862-3, pp. 13, 190 (*Report of Mr. Fallon, Inspector, N. W. Division*).

(12) *R. P. I.*, 1863-4. The repairs seemed to be so heavy as to interfere with the visits of the members of the Local Committee. *Ibid.*

(13) *R. P. I.*, 1865-66, pp. 520-21.

(14) *R. P. I.*, 1866-67, p. 565.

the money in hand being made available to the P.W.D. and the excess sum required being paid by Government in anticipation of subscriptions. But the orders of government, though not received by April 1870(15) were not long to come and the western two-storeyed wing, was added in 1871.(16)

During 1874-75, Government found it necessary to undertake "heavy repairs" of the College building, "which, as in the case of Dacca appeared to be neither large enough nor convenient", "neither very imposing in external appearance nor well adapted internally for the purposes to which it is applied." The officiating Commissioner, Metcalfe, considering its defects to be beyond any effectual remedy, suggested, so as to provide the province with a building in every way worthy of it—that "an entirely new edifice should be built, handsome alike in its proportions and its design. His scheme embraced the completion of the present edifice by the addition of another wing and its conversion into a boarding house for the students, and also the erection of suitable residences for the college officers." The scheme was estimated to cost between 2-3 lakhs of rupees. Principal McCrindle suggested that the nucleus of a fund for carrying out this 'great design' might be formed by the balance still at credit of the building fund (about Rs. 23,000); this balance was intended to defray the cost of the projected chemistry lecture hall and laboratory, but he suggested that these might "very well form integral parts of the new structure." He brought the scheme to the notice of the Lt.-Governor in a personal interview. The latter while concurring with him, reserved his final decision till his inspection of the College during his next visit to Bihar.(17)

By March, 1880, the two-storeyed western wing added to the building was completed, and the science laboratory, then considered "a spacious and convenient building", separated by some distance from the College, was raised as high as the roof.(18) When completed (1881), it contained a large lecture theatre, partly rectangular (44'2" x 11'11"), partly semicircular (44'2" x 22'1"), with rising tiers and benches, accommodating 150 students, besides Chemistry and Physics practical classrooms and store-rooms for apparatus.(19) The site of this laboratory is marked by the present B.A. Lecture Theatre.

2. STAFF.

PROBLEM OF SECURING SUITABLE TEACHERS.

One of the main educational problems then was that of securing competent teachers,(20) either British or Indian.(21) With the exception of a few,

(15) *R. P. I.*, 1869-70, pp. 371-2.

(16) West wing, acc. to Principal Horne's *Foreword*. *P. C. M.*, Oct., 1927, p. 3.

(17) *Report*, 1874-75, p. 78.

(18) *Report*, 1879-80, pp. 22-93; *P. C. M.*, 1938, p. 41.

(19) *Educational Buildings in India* (1911), p. 25. *P. C. M.*, Jan., 1927, p. 322, Oct. 1927, p. 3.

(20) Zachariah, 11.

(21) *Ibid.*, 74.

the Education Department had to get higher officers from outside. The teaching profession was less attractive to young English graduates than the Civil Service, then opened to competition. The standard of attainments required for the new University examinations was very high indeed, (22) "The Entrance Test", wrote the Director, "is at least as high as that of any University with which I am acquainted, and the Degrees, especially the Degrees in Arts, undoubtedly imply amount of Book Knowledge more extensive and varied, and I believe, I may add, more accurate than is required for Degrees of the same kind in any country in the world." (23) In 1862 the Director recommended a higher graded scale of salaries for Principals and for the education service generally. "From recent inquiries which have been made at Oxford and Cambridge the fact has been ascertained that with the present prospects of the Department the sort of men required cannot be induced to enter the service, even on minimum salaries of Rs. 400 per mensem." (24) Mr. Cowell, Principal of the Sanskrit College and a distinguished Orientalist, and a first class Oxonian, very significantly observed: "It is useless to deny that the Education Department demands quite as much culture and talent as the Civil Service. In fact, I believe the present men in the higher ranks of the Department will bear a very favourable comparison in point of University distinctions with any year of the civilians since the opening of the service." (25)

At last in the early part of 1864, a scheme for reorganising the upper branch of the Education Service was recommended to the Government of India; it was approved of by the Secretary of State's despatch, dated the 9th December, 1864 and was enforced from July 1, 1865. The members of the higher Educational Service (except D.P.I.) were put on graded salaries and arranged in 4 classes. (26)

This reorganisation greatly improved the prospects of the service, for the new scales, though lower than those of the Civil Service, sufficed to attract

(22) *Ibid.*

(23) Bengal Edn. Proc., 13-15, March, 1864, quoted in *ibid.*

(24) Bengal Edn. Proc., 1-3, 1 Dec., 1862, quoted in *ibid.* Two years later a Cambridge don wrote: "There are at Cambridge just now several men returned from India who, I think, are disposed to dissuade good men from accepting the appointments. They say that they would be placed at a disadvantage both as regards emolument and rank when compared to the Civil Service, and as the latter is so easy of attainment, we can with difficulty hope to persuade any one who sets a value on himself to accept the former". Bengal Edn. Proc., 13-15, March, 1864, quoted in *ibid.*, 74-75.

(25) *Ibid.*, quoted in *ibid.*

(26) *Annals*, March, 1867, Pt. 2, Vol. XI, p. 69. The scheme, intended for those who got Rs. 500 a month and above, was as follows:—

D. P. I.,	Rs. 2000—50/1—2500	...	...	...	...	1 only
1st Class	Rs. 1,250—50/1—1300—100/2—1500	...	...	...	...	2 only
2nd Class	Rs. 1000—50/1—1050—100/2—1250	...	...	...	...	6 only
3rd Class	Rs. 750—50/1—850—75/2—1000	...	...	...	...	10 only
4th Class	Rs. 500—50/1—750	...	...	...	...	13 only

a succession of able scholars and teachers and "probably the Educational Service in Bengal had never so many able men as between 1865 and 1885." (28)

The difficulty of getting suitable teachers from within India was then even greater than that regarding recruits from England. The Director observed in 1878: "The University of Calcutta turns out men of good general education ; it does not turn out scholars." (29) The higher posts were not easily open to Indians, and the lower branch of the service was then 'inadequately paid as compared with subordinate officers in other departments' and was "less attractive than formerly to men possessing the requisite qualifications." (30) The best graduates found more ready and remunerative openings in the executive or judicial services or at the bar. (31) In 1867 a scheme for grading the lower service was prepared but instead of being immediately enforced it was revised in 1877 by Mr. Croft, who pointed out that the pay generally was much lower than in other services. (32) In 1878 the Secretary of State sanctioned the revised scheme, by which the subordinate Educational Service was organised in seven classes. (33)

One of the immediate results of the above-mentioned reorganisation of the upper branch of the service was an increase in the cost to Government. The Government of India's Resolution of 25th February, 1864, gave detailed directions so as to obtain for the Secretary of State complete information "relative to the system of education established under the orders of 1854, showing the practical results attained, the cost incurred by the Government on their account." Accordingly W. S. Atkinson drew up his report, from which we know that the average attendance in Patna College was 18, and the annual cost to government for each student was Rs. 361 (the corresponding figures for the Presidency College being 313, and Rs. 185 respectively). (34)

CHANGES IN THE STAFF.

During these years, three persons held charge of the institution, Messrs. J. K. Rogers, McGrindle and Bellett. Mr. J. K. Rogers succeeded the first Headmaster of the Patna Branch School, Mr. J. T. Thomson, on 12th August, 1862 (35) and in April 1863, his designation was changed into "Professor-in-Charge of the College." About his record both as an administrator and teacher, Dr. J. Sutherland, the Secretary of the Local Committee, paid a high testimony in the following words: "I think it right to state that in my opinion much of the success that has been attained in the College and School departments, has been the result of the persevering industry and unremitting attention to his duties of Prof. Rogers who has invariably shown tact, judgment, and temper in the management of the masters and pupils

(28) Zachariah, 75.

(29) Beng. Edn. Proc., 13-15, July, 1878; File 4 in *ibid.*

(30) *Annals*, March, 1867, Pt. 2, Vol. XI, p. 69.

(31) Zachariah, 76.

(32) Beng. Edn. Proc., 1-3, Nov., 1877; File 114 in *ibid.*

(33) *Ibid.*, 3-4, May, 1878: 5-6, Aug., 1878, File 10 in *ibid.*

(34) *P. C. M.*, 1938, p. 39.

(35) *R. P. I.*, 1862-3, p. 281 f.

under him, and I imagine the attainments of some of the pupils will be considered a satisfactory proof of his great success as a teacher." (36)

The formation of the B.A. classes in the College in 1865 and 1866 necessitated a strengthening of the staff and so the office of the Principal, sanctioned under the scheme of the establishment of the college but kept in abeyance, was now filled up and on the 19th February, 1867. Mr. J. W. McCrindle, who had had, so long officiated as Professor-in-Charge (since) became the first Principal of the College. (37) He held charge of the College till his retirement in 1880, except for a short period of furlough in 1878-79 when Mr. Bellett officiated. (38) In 1880, McCrindle retired and was succeeded by Mr. A. Ewbank as officiating Principal. (39) The D.P.I. observed about McCrindle: "The Patna College has sustained a heavy loss in the retirement from the public service of Mr. J. W. McCrindle, the Principal. He has been connected with the institution ever since it existed as a full college, and contributed in no small measures to its prosperity. His devotion to his duties, and his fatherly care of those who were entrusted to his charge, endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. In McCrindle, the Education Department has lost a most valuable officer, and Government a faithful servant." (40)

In September 1862, Mr. G. H. Savigny joined as Second Master, and Heyaet Baksh filled the vacancy, caused by the transfer of Babu Nobin Chunder Roy, the 5th Master, to Muzzaffarpur. In October, a Hindi Pandit and an assistant maulavi were added to the staff. In November, Babu Sheo Pershad Singh (of Gaya School) was appointed 3rd Master of the Patna Collegiate School and two additional junior teachers were appointed in March, 1863, to cope with the increasing number of students. In February, Mr. Behrendt, Headmaster of the Gaya School, was appointed 2nd Master of the Patna College but his designation was changed into (1st Master) Headmaster. He was a "clever and successful teacher", who ably aided Prof. Rogers. A head maulavi was appointed on a salary of Rs. 150 a month, (41) to attract Muslim students to the institution, but this hope, as we shall see later on, was not fully realised.

During 1864-5, the staff consisted of Professor J. K. Rogers, and 4 Masters, viz., J. Behrendt (Headmaster), Mr. Phillips (2nd Master), L. F. L. Feuvre (3rd Master), T. P. Manuel and Hurry Lal Roy, B.A. Nobin Chunder Dey, B.A., B.L. (42) was appointed Law Lecturer (from May 1864). He was thus the first Indian 'Professor' of Patna College. The allocation of duties in the college and school departments was as follows:—(a) The college classes were taken by Messrs. Rogers (in English literature and

(36) *R. P. I.*, 1863-64. The members of the Local Committee regularly inspected the college in rotation towards the close of the session and were satisfied with its working. *Ibid.*

(37) 19th February according to *R. P. I.*, 1866-67, 561; *C. U. Calendar*, 1912, Pt. 2, 946-47.

(38) *Report*, 1878-79, p. 26.

(39) *Report*, 1880-1, p. 22.

(40) *Report*, 1880-1, p. 22.

(41) *R. P. I.*, 1862-3, p. 281 ff; 1863-4 (report of Local Secretary, Dr. J. Sutherland).

(42) He took his B.A. degree from Presidency College (1860-1).

grammar, English History, Mental Philosophy, Mechanics, Algebra and Arithmetic) and Behrendt (in Geography, Moral Philosophy, Trigonometry, Geometry, and translations from the oriental languages). (b) The Entrance or the highest school class was taken by Mr. Phillips (in all subjects except Mathematics, taught by Behrendt, and translations from the oriental languages, taken up by Le Feuvre). From the report of the Professor-in-Charge, we learn that "all the teachers, with the exception of two or three in the oriental department, have afforded him satisfaction in the performance of their duties" and that "The Law lecturer has also been very punctual in his attendance and attentive to his work." (43) During 1865-66, the college classes except in oriental languages, were taken up by Messrs. Rogers, Behrendt, and Babu Sosheebhoosun Banerjee, M.A., (44) lecturer in History, and they frequently held written examinations in all subjects. The Entrance class was under the sole responsibility of Mr. Phillips, B.A. (except in oriental languages). Every other school class was under the charge of a master. Over the entire school the Professor-in-Charge and the Headmaster exercised "constant supervision and control". The Professor-in-Charge visited the branch of the collegiate school in the city many times a month and examined some or all the classes and recorded his opinions and orders in the visitors' book. (45) A few years later Mr. Roy was succeeded by Denesh Chunder Roy, B.A. (1866-67), and besides others, we find Babu Choto Ram as Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, 8 junior English masters, 4 maulavis and 2 pundits (Hindi and Bengali). (46) During 1867-68, the staff was strengthened by the appointment in early March, 1868, of a Professor for Mathematics, A.L.V. Ewbank, B.A. (of St. John's College, Cambridge). The staff was then considered to be "complete" and it was hoped that the college had "a prosperous career before it." On Ewbank's arrival, Lecturer Babu Soshibhoosun Banerjee, who had discharged his duties in the college very efficiently, was transferred to the school, where an equally remunerative office had fallen vacant. (47) Dr. R. F. Hutchinson, the civil surgeon, delivered a series of lectures on Zoology, (the optional subject taken up in 1866-67 by 3rd year class), along with interesting illustrations and experiments. (48) A few years later F. Tiery, B.A. was appointed 4th master, and Nasir Khan became Headmaulavi. (49)

During 1873-4, Professor Ewbank undertook the teaching of Chemistry, as a permanent arrangement, in addition to Mathematics and Physical Science, as Dr. Simpson, Civil Surgeon, who had last session delivered a course of

(43) *R. P. I.*, 1864-65. Messrs. Behdendt, Le Feuvre and Manuel, and of Baboo Sheo Pershad Singh and Shaikh Gohur Ali.

(44) Mr. Sosheebhusan Banerjee passed M.A. in History in 1866 in Calcutta University. *R. P. I.*, 1865-66.

(45) *R. P. I.*, 1865-66. In 1866-67, the branch school in the city (130 or 140 boys) was under Shaikh Gowhur Ali, and was visited by McCrindle.

(46) *C. U. Calendars*, 1864-65, p. 194; 1865-6, p. 201; 1866-67, p. 199.

(47) *R. P. I.*, 1867-68.

(48) *R. P. I.*, 1867-68. The Civil Surgeon of Patna had an intimate connection with the Patna College.

(49) *C. U. Calendars*, 1868-69, pp. 137-38; 1869-70; 1870-71, p. 147; 1871-2, p. 145; 1874-75, p. 146.

lectures in Chemistry to the 1st and 3rd year classes, left for Europe in February, 1874, and Ewbank lectured in Chemistry in the college and Civil Service Classes.(50) In 1875-76, besides the Principal, Mr. McCrindle, the graded members of the staff were Mr. J. Willson (of Trinity College, Dublin, lately Prof. of Chemistry and Botany in Hooghly (in succession to Mr. Ewbank) and Mr. Rogers,(5) who was transferred to the Hooghly College in January 1877. The rest of the work was undertaken by Mr. Behrendt (now Assistant Professor); (and during his temporary deputation to Dacca, Mr. Phillips, headmaster of the Collegiate School, officiated for him) and by Dr. Prasanna Kumar Roy, D.Sc., a distinguished honours graduate in Philosophy and Science of London University, who taught all science subjects as Assistant Professor.(52) Then, after various changes, the staff (on 31st March, 1878) consisted of Mr. McCrindle, Mr. Willson and Mr. Archibald, and some other lecturers.(53) Before his transfer to Dacca, Dr. P. K. Roy started a scientific association among the students "with the object of organising a series of lectures and of forming a museum", (54) which worked "admirably", lectures being delivered by Willson and Archibald, and the members having a reading-room for scientific literature.(55) During 1878-79 there were several changes on the staff. Mr. Bellett officiated for McCrindle, Mr. Archibald, Professor of Mathematics, having gone on medical leave for 15 months was succeeded by Babu Nanda Krishna Basu, M.A., P.R.S. Mr. Willson, having taken 3 months' leave, owing to ill health, was succeeded by Mr. Abinash Chandra Dutt, (trained in England) who was later on transferred (1878) to the Hooghly College, as lecturer in Science, from where came Dr. George Watt(56) (then about 27 or 28), Prof. of Chemistry and Botany. He remodelled the scientific association and it was in a flourishing condition.(57) During 1879-80, again, many changes took place on the staff. About the middle of July, 1879, Dr. Watt went on furlough to Europe owing to ill health. In his place came a month later, Babu Abhoy Charan Mitra from Ranchi, to take Chemistry classes. He officiated till February, 1880, when Ewbank's offer to teach Chemistry and Physical Science was "gladly accepted". Mr. Ewbank was posted to the college on his return from furlough and took over charge of his office on 31st October, 1879. Another Assistant Lecturer on Science was Narendra Nath Basu, M.A., appointed in 1879, who, was "an omnibus Professor, who taught Mathematics, Chemistry, Botany and Logic with equal ease"—as it was then quite common for a member of the staff to teach more than one

(50) *Report*, 1873-4, p. 51.

(51) *Report*, 1875-6, p. 69; Zachariah, 79.

(52) *Report*, 1876-77, p. 59.

(53) *Report*, 1877-78, p. 59.

(54) *Report*, 1878-79, p. 26.

(55) *Report*, 1877-78, p. 59.

(56) *Report*, 1878-79, p. 26. Dr. Watt was knighted and made a C.I.E. and appointed Economic Adviser to the Government of India. His monumental work on the Economic Products of India is an invaluable book of reference. See Zachariah, 79. Mr. Abinash Datta at Hooghly in 1883.

(57) *Ibid.*

subject. Mr. A. Macdonell (a double first class at Oxford) was also posted to this college, but his connection with it was short covering only 2 months (11 September—12 November, 1879), when he was transferred to the Dacca College. Babu Nanda Krishna Basu, lecturer in Mathematics, left the college, owing to his appointment to the Civil Service (January, 1880) and was succeeded by Mr. Mowat (joined 4th February, 1880).⁽⁵⁸⁾ Mr. S. Robson was transferred from the Presidency to the Patna College. During these years the post of Assistant Professor of Sanskrit was held by Choto Ram Tiwari⁽⁵⁹⁾ and that of Head Maulavi by Nasir Khan (till 1879) and Syed Imadul Imam (1879-80 & 1880-1). In 1880-81, Archibald was on furlough.

The first Indian 'Professor' as distinct from 'masters' was Nobin Chunder De, appointed Law Lecturer in May, 1864. The next Indian Professor (not in Oriental subjects) was Dr. Prasanna Kumar Ray, D.Sc. (London), 1877-78. Next came in 1879-80 Nanda Krishna Basu, M.A., Lecturer in Mathematics and later a Statutory civilian and Narendra Nath Basu, M.A. (Assistant Lecturer on Science).

3. STUDENTS.

(a) NUMBERS.

The early annual reports on the progress of education speak of students of the college and school departments as belonging to the college. By April (or March) 1863, the college department had only one class (1st year, with 5 students)⁽⁶⁰⁾ while the school department (increased from 135 to 307) had 8 classes (Entrance, 13; 1st. 13; 2nd. 18; 3rd. 38; 4th. 23; 5th. 23; 6th. 83; 7th. 96)⁽⁶¹⁾. In January, 1864, the second year class was added, and the number of students in the college department increased from 5 to 18 (1st year, 11; 2nd year, 7) an increase which was more than had been anticipated; the school department did not increase in the same proportion (307-314) owing to the opening of a normal school nearby with a lower scale of fees.⁽⁶²⁾ Next year the two college classes consisted of 21 students (of whom 10 came from the collegiate school), and all, except 2, held junior scholarships worth Rs. 10 or Rs. 14 a month. The 3rd year class was formed about the middle of February, 1865; but the almost "stationary condition" of the college, in the early years as regards numbers, was due to the fact that only seven passed the Entrance out of 21 candidates in the Patna district, and 3 joined the Presidency College.⁽⁶³⁾ In January 1866, a fourth year's class was for the first time formed with 5 students only.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Next year (1867), the strength of the

(58) *Report*, 1879-80, pp. 22-23; *C. U. Calendar*, 1879-80, 130; *P. C. M.*, January, 1938, p. 96n. Mr. A. Macdonnell joined Hooghly College in 1888 in place of Mr. S. Robson, Zachariah, 97.

(59) He was the son of Pandit Bechanarain Tiwari, Professor of Sankhya in Benares College.

(60) From 8 zillah schools (1,135 students), only 6 passed the Entrance of December, 1862 and of these 5 joined Patna College. *R. P. I.*, 1862-3, p. 190.

(61) *R. P. I.*, 1862-3, pp. 281-4. The rapid growth of the collegiate school was a satisfactory proof of the interest of the people in education. *Ibid*, 13.

(62) *R. P. I.*, 1863-4.

(63) *R. P. I.*, 1865-66.

(64) *R. P. I.*, 1866-67. (1st yr., 12; 2nd yr., 12; 3rd yr., 3; 4th yr., 5).

4 classes was as follows: 1st year, 17; 2nd year, 16; 3rd year, 6; 4th year, 4;(65) and in 1869-70, the strength was 20, 32, 5, 8 respectively.(66)

Judged by numbers, the period under review witnessed a steady expansion in the college—from 5 in 1863 (31st March) to 162 in 1881, the average rate of increase (less than 10 a year) being regarded as slow by the Principal. Commenting on the numbers, Principal McCrindle observed in 1875: "The schools which feed the college pass comparatively few candidates at the Entrance Examination and hence the growth of the college is but slow. With a moderate degree of success at the examination, the number of students might by this time have pretty nearly equalled the attendance at the other full colleges at Hooghly and Dacca".(67) Indeed in 1874-5, 31 out of the 45 successful students in the Entrance, sent up by the feeding schools of the college were admitted. Only five out of 10 successful students of the Bhagalpur school joined the college and none out of the 5 successful boys from the Monghyr school joined.

(b) GROWING CHANGE IN PUBLIC OPINION TOWARDS ENGLISH EDUCATION:

(i) *Religion.*

Government was anxious to know how far the institution "served to promote the higher education of the people in Behar, and how far that of the immigrants into the province".(68) Indeed an examination of the numbers on the rolls of the college, according to religion, race and social status of the students, illustrates an increasing change in the public opinion of Behar towards English education. In the first place, while the figures reveal the predominance of the Hindus over others, Muhammadans or Christians, we note a gradually growing appreciation, among the Muhammadans, regarding the advantages of English education. Out of 312 students in April, 1863, 258 were Hindus, 43 were Muhammadans and 11 Christians. The D. P. I. observes: "as is usually the case everywhere the Hindu students greatly preponderate". Next year, too, "the Hindoos far exceed all the other sects", numbering 275 (out of 332), as against 43 Muhammadans and 14 Christians. To attract a greater number of Muhammadan students to the institution, a Head Maulavi was appointed in the oriental department on a "liberal salary of Rs. 150 a month", but this hope was not realised for some time. However, by 1866, the Muhammadans, numbering 99, formed 23 per cent of the total strength, as compared to 13 per cent before. The increase in the number of Muhammadans in the college only (separate from School) continued to be steady, though slow, the figures for the eight years from April 1868 to April 1875 being 4, 8, 6, 10, 9, 11, 10 and 13 respectively(69) and during 1879-81, the figures were 19,33,28 respectively.

(65) *R. P. I.*, 1867-68, p. 603.

(66) *R. P. I.*, 1869-70, p. 362.

(67) *Report*, 1874-5, p. 77. In 1867-68, the students of the 1st yr. class came from the ff. schools: Patna Collegiate (7), Bhagalpur (4), Gaya (2), Sarun (2), Maldah (1), Muzaffarpur (1); while in 1869-70, they came from Patna College (4), Patna Normal (4), Bhagalpur (1), Gaya (1), Sarun (2), Arrah (1), Monghyr (1), Schools not in Bihar (6). *R. P. I.*, 1867-68, 1869-70.

(68) *R. P. I.*, 1875-6.

(69) *R. P. I.*, 1862-3; 1863-4, p. 462; 1865-66; 1867-68, p. 603; 1869-70, p. 362f; 1874-75, p. 77.

(ii) *Race.*

In the second place, the figures also reveal a gradual increase in the number of Biharis and a decline in that of the Bengalis. Taking the figures of the college and school together, "natives of Behar constituted, as they should, the bulk of the students attending the college" e.g., in 1863-4, there were 82 Bengalis, 1 Sikh and 1 Arab, as compared to 234 of Beharis; similarly in 1865-66 "the majority of the pupils belonged to the province of Behar", but "the number of Bengalis was considerable", amounting to 84 or 7/36 of the total strength, and there was a "sprinkling" of East Indian Lads (about 15). The strength of the Bengali element was considered by the authorities to be due to the facility of railway communications, "distance no longer presenting a hindrance to temporary change of habitation".(70) But, taking the figures of the college alone, the Bengalis were in a majority, at least in the beginning. On 31st March, 1868, out of 45 students, the Bengalis numbered 24, as against 20 Biharis and 1 Eurasian(71); on 31st March, 1873 out of 97 students, there were 55 Bengalis, 40 Biharis and 2 others. These details clearly show that in the beginning the natives of Bihar were more averse to higher collegiate education than school education. But, with the growing spontaneous appreciation of the advantages of higher education by the Biharis, new orientation of their general outlook and the government policy of diffusing more education among them than before, led to the rise in their proportion in the college classes from 1873-4. The decline in the number of Christian and Eurasian students(72) is another noticeable fact in the early history of the college.

(iii) *Social Status.*

In the third place, there gradually came a change in the attitude of the higher classes in society towards University education. In the beginning of 1864, Dr. J. Sutherland, the Secretary to the Local Committee, complained that "no marked interest was yet exhibited by the native community of Patna in general in the college or educational matters". But there were some "gentlemen", who took "some little interest in the welfare of the college". Among the students in 1863-4, were a son and protege of the Rajah Bhoop Singh (a promising little boy—1865-66), a son of Wilayat Ali Khan, a son of Roy Hurry Kissen, a wealthy zemindar; a son and nephew of Nawab Soorat Jung; the sons of Zainooddeen and of Soorjee Coomar Mookerjee, Deputy Collectors, besides some children of certain other respectable people, natives and Europeans.(73) During 1865-66, the boys were generally sons or relatives of the *Amlahs* of the various courts and offices. The classification of students according to social status was as follows:

1867-68—Sons of Zamindars 5; merchants 3; professions persons 11; government servants 24; shopkeepers 0; Total 43.

(To be continued)

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR.

(70) R. P. I., 1863-4, 1865-66.

(71) R. P. I., 1867-68.

(72) Due partly to (i) opening of separate Christian schools, (ii) the effect of the Indian Reformation movements in checking conversions to Christianity.

(73) R. P. I., 1863-4, p. 462; 1865-66, p. 517.

A Son of Mir Jafar

ROMANTIC and colourful as the history of Murshidabad is, the story of Mutaminul Mulk, Mubarakud-Daulah, Saiyid Mubarak Ali Khan Bahadur, Firoz Jang, the fourth son of Mir Jafar by his wife Babbu Begam, is full of human interest. This prince was about 11 years old when in March 1770 he was installed on the *masnad* of Murshidabad as Nawab Nazim of Bengal on the death of his brother, Saifud-Daulah. A treaty between the Governor and Council of Fort William and the Nawab was executed by which it was agreed upon that the latter would get the same stipend as was given to his predecessor, for the support of his family and dignity. Thus the annual stipend which was fixed for him was thirty-two lakhs of rupees. Since the Nawab was a minor it was thought desirable to appoint a *naib* (deputy) in order to run the administration. Muhammed Riza Khan, who had held the office of *naib* under the two preceding Nazims, both of whom were minors, continued as such during the Nizamat of the present Nawab. He obtained large powers over the affairs of the Nizamat. He superintended the Nawab's education, managed his household and regulated his expenses. He had also the absolute command of every branch of the Nizamat and was the chief authority in the affairs of the Diwani. In short he wielded supreme authority in the name of the Nawab. The administration continued on these lines for two years.

At about this time the Court of Directors in England were faced with great financial embarrassments. They had already complained that the revenue allowed for the use of the Nawab was excessive. They were looking for a plea to reduce it and they readily took advantage of his minority to bring about this change. In January 1772 they ordered the stipend of the Nawab to be reduced to sixteen lakhs of rupees. To justify their action they wrote to the Governor as follows:—"Convinced as we are that an allowance of sixteen lacs per annum will be sufficient for the support of the Nabob's state and rank, while a minor, we must consider every addition thereto as so much wasted on a herd of parasites and sycophants, who will continually surround him ; or at least be hoarded up, a consequence still more pernicious to the Company. You are, therefore, during the non-age of the Nabob, to reduce his annual stipend to sixteen lacs of rupees." Thus by a single stroke of the pen the Nawab's stipend was reduced to a half of the stipulated stipend. The same year in April, Riza Khan was removed from his office on a charge of maladministration and embezzlement and was brought down to Calcutta to face an enquiry into his conduct. When the office of *naib* fell vacant Ihtiramud-Daulah, a surviving brother of Mir Jafar and the uncle of the young Nawab, tried to get himself installed in that office. His pretensions were set aside and the Governor and Council appointed Munny Begam, step-mother

of the Nawab, and Raja Guru Das to carry on the functions of *naib*. To the Begam was entrusted the guardianship of the Nawab, the direction of his education, which had been greatly neglected so far, and the care and management of his family. The Raja held the office of Diwan to the Nawab's household and regulated and paid the salaries of the Nawab's servants and kept the account of his expenses. This dual administration remained in force for more than two years.

The charges against Riza Khan having been investigated and found to be baseless he was once more restored to the office of *naib*. Warren Hastings wrote to him that as the guardian of the Nawab and superintendent of his household he should pay the strictest possible attention to frugality in the Nawab's expenses, to his education, to accustom him in the practice of official duties and instruct him in the knowledge of business. The Khan continued in office till 1772 when the Nawab wrote to the Governor General, Hastings, complaining bitterly of the Khan's management of his affairs and asserting that as he had now come of age he should be set free from the tutelage of a person who was neither bound to him by affection nor by any ties of relationship. The Nawab was no doubt fretting under the tutelage of the Khan but this was a design engineered by Munny Begam herself. She wanted the removal of the Khan so that she might be invested with those powers. The Nawab's request was complied with and the Khan was displaced. On assuming authority the Nawab appointed Munny Begam to her former office of superintendent of the household; and subject to her direction the Diwani to the Nizamat was bestowed on Raja Guru Das, while an old man named Sadrul Haq, who held the position of the Darogha-i-Adalat and was a favourite of Hastings, was given the post of *naib* and to his charge were committed the civil and criminal administration of Murshidabad. The Court of Directors, however, did not approve of these changes. They affirmed that the young Nawab was not competent to introduce revolutionary changes in offices essential to the welfare of the country and issued peremptory orders to the Governor General to restore forthwith Riza Khan to the position of *naib*.

The Nawab took little interest in the administration of the country and gave himself up to pleasures and pastimes. He was a great lover of music and the allied arts and employed a large number of talented singers and dancers on high salaries. We are told that once there came to Murshidabad a reputed dancer and story-teller who was received with honours due to a person of great importance. A house was provided for him and a big salary was assigned for his expenses. Rich presents were bestowed on him and he was held in as high estimation as any member of the nobility. The Nawab was extravagant in the extreme. He spent about fifteen thousand rupees every year on the *Bera* festival. This celebration in honour of Khwaja Khizr (the fabulous Lord of the waters), was observed during the rainy season, on the last Thursday of the Bengalee month of Bhadon, with great eclat. Numerous boats of various sizes made artistically of coloured paper and tinsel, supported by slight bamboo frames and fixed on appropriately shaped plantain trees, were made for the occasion. These boats fitted with a number of coloured lights were carried to the accompaniment of music to the banks of the

Bhagirati. A large number of such boats were assembled and launched in the river. The river as well as its banks were richly illuminated and presented a picturesque and striking sight at which the Nawab took great delight. The ceremony concluded by floating these boats and leaving on the banks of the river fruits and elaborately prepared eatables of various kinds.

The Nawab also spent large sums of money on the Hindu festivals of *Diwali* and *Holi*. The former was and is celebrated to this day in autumn when houses are beautifully illuminated and presents of the images of men and animals made of clay or sugar used to be exchanged by the people. The latter is a spring festival in which the chief observances were and are sprinkling one another with red or yellow powder and liquid, merrymaking, singing and lighting bonfires. In an annual statement of the Nawab's *toshakhana* it is recorded that Rs. 11,000 was spent on the occasion of *Holi* and Rs. 4,000 solely on *abir* (a mixture of perfumes compounded with saffron as well as a kind of powder used at the saturnalia of *Holi*).

To continue the tale of his extravagance. On the occasion of the circumcision ceremony of his sons he spent as much as Rs. 37,000 in presenting clothes to his slave-girls, the favourites of his harem and such others. Then again, to meet the expenses of the marriage of one of his daughters he had to raise a loan of Rs. 1,50,000 from the *mahajans*. Needless to say that this was more than his purse could bear and the transaction landed him in great difficulties. His debts were accumulating and his creditors were clamouring for repayment. The servants, officials and pensioners of the Nizamat would not get their salaries for months together. They suffered at times for want of the very necessities of life. Nevertheless money was found somehow or other for reckless extravagance. He repeatedly appealed to Hastings and his successors for the restoration of the original stipend but his request was turned down every time on the ground of the financial stringency of the Company owing to their wars against the French, the Mahrattas and Haidar Ali of Mysore.

The Nawab, it is recorded, was a noble-minded prince. This was clearly manifested on the occasion of his visit to Calcutta in 1786. He was going to Calcutta to meet the Governor General. Lord Cornwallis issued orders to the various Rajas and Zamindars to attend upon him when he passed through their respective jurisdictions and to present *dalis* and supply provisions to him. The Nawab wrote to the Governor General that beyond the *nazar* of one gold mohur he would not like to receive from them even 'one blade of grass'. He said that he was well-acquainted with the nature of these people. They would cause any amount of trouble to the peasants and commit extortion on the inhabitants under the pretence of providing provisions for the Nawab. The Rajas and the Zamindars were greatly disappointed as they took pride in offering *dalis*, the presentation of which was merely an expression of their felicity to rightful ruler of the realm.

We find from the records that the Nawab was a gentle, kindhearted and generous prince. He always spoke politely to those who approached him. He showed great consideration to the descendants of illustrious families who sought his help and protection. He was particularly disposed to give a patient

hearing to the oppressed and was ever anxious to relieve their sufferings. He continued to adorn the *masnad* of Murshidabad till 1793. He died in the prime of life in the September of that year and was buried with due pomp and ceremony in the Jaffraganj cemetery of the Nizamat family not far from Murshidabad.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

THE CALCUTTA JOURNAL.
Tuesday, November 23, 1819.
PRESENT STATE OF CALCUTTA.

To

THE EDITOR OF THE CALCUTTA JOURNAL.

SIR,

Allow me, through the medium of your Journal, to call the attention of the Public, to the present state of the Port of Calcutta, when compared with what it was in the year 1757, and the necessity which exists for the adoption of some measures to prevent the River Hooghly from becoming at a future period innavigable to the Ships which are at present able to visit the Port.

It is recorded in Orme's History of Hindoostan, that a ship of 20 guns was carried up to the attack of the Fort of Hooghly, on the 10th of February 1757, and that three ships, carrying respectively 64 guns, 60 guns, and 50 guns, were carried up to Chandernagore, between the 20th and 23rd of March, of the same year, a period when the River is always at its lowest height.

I am not acquainted with what the actual depth of water was in the Hooghly River, between Calcutta and Chandernagore, in March last ; but I am persuaded that no Ship of 64 guns could have proceeded up to Chandernagore then, and I doubt very much if a Ship even of 20 guns could have been carried up to the attack of that Factory. If the past 62 years should have made such a difference in the State of the River, it may be worth the attention of the great Mercantile body of Calcutta, and more particularly of the Government, to take every precautionary measure to prevent the future accumulation of the sands, which by raising the bottom of the River, have caused the alteration ; for if nothing is done, the causes which have operated during the past 62 years, may be expected to continue their slow and sure effects, and in a like period of time, the Port of Calcutta may be closed altogether.

The River Hooghly during the day season, resembles more a deep inlet of the Sea than a River ; the waters that flow into it, during this season, through the Cossimbazar, the Jellingay, and the Scharmutty, are reduced to trifling streams, and convey from the Ganges scarcely any water. Every work therefore which may have a tendency to encroach on an inlet of the Sea, of equal extent, may be supposed to have a like effect of the River Hooghly ; and if the waters of the Cossimbazar, the Jellingay, and the Scharmutty, were banked up altogether, which might be easily done in the dry season, the navigation to the Port of Calcutta would depend entirely on the flow of the tides.

Mr. Smeaton, who was supposed to have been the most eminent Civil Engineer that our country ever had, lays it down as an undeviating principle, that every work which obstructs the flow of water in Rivers, however trifling the quantity, causes a deposit of sand, in proportion to the quantity of water, which is by the work prevented from freely flowing, in it, and which is driven into other channels. If Mr. Smeaton is correct in the assumption of the above principles, what must not be the effect of the numerous works, which are yearly constructing on the sides of the River Hooghly, and on the banks of the Cossimbazar River, of a temporary and lasting nature?

The rains no sooner subside than the fishermen are allowed to extend all across the River, their wears or bamboo fences, to prevent the fish from proceeding towards the Sea ; the rich Native, whose principal dwelling-house is on the River-side, takes advantage of the summer season to project out into the River his Puckah Ghaut ; the European, and proprietors of the ground, on the banks of the River, near to Calcutta, extend their Puckah Ghauts, at the same season, and secure as much land as they can take from the River, by the continuation of Puckah Wharfs of a sufficient substance to resist the tides in the River ; the wealthy Native, whose residence is at a distance from the River, through religious motives, takes advantage of the season to erect a Pagoda, with a Pucka Ghaut extending into the stream ; and last of all the Government repairs the Bunds, which the waters of the Ganges may have injured, and takes means to prevent future encroachments.

All these works, whether of a temporary or more durable nature, prevent the natural flow of the waters from the Ganges ; and such of them as are constructed within the tides-way, prevent the flux and re-flux of the sea, and permit the accumulation of sand during the dry season of the year. Such of them as are of a durable nature, and project from the natural banks of the River, by occupying space which would otherwise be left for the water to flow in, forces so much of it into other channels, and tends to prevent the Ganges from emptying so large a proportion of its waters, during the rains, into the Sea, through the Hooghly, as would under other circumstances, take place.

Your readers need only to inspect the point of any Puckha Wharf or Ghaut, constructed purposely to resist the effects of the tide on it, to be convinced how injurious such works are to the navigation of the River, and they will observe an accumulation of sand in front of them, and the water to recede, in proportion as such works are advanced into the stream. Indeed, it would be no difficult task to construct two pies from the opposite sides of the River so as to narrow the channel to a space capable of only admitting that portion of the water to flow between them, which now falls into the Hooghly from the hills to the south-west of Burdwan ; when the waters of the Ganges would force themselves into the Sea through the main channel and the numerous little nullahs that flow into the Sunderbunds to the east of Calcutta.

The best method of preserving the River in its present state, and of improving its navigation, will be the adoption of every measure tending to

increase the flow of water from the Ganges downward, and the tide of the Sea upwards alternatively ; as well as the immediate adoption of some plan to prevent future encroachments on the water naturally appertaining to the River.

The Papers of the current year, detailed a simple way of rendering the Jellingay River navigable at its source, which an Officer adopted by turning the numerous little streams, into which it had divided itself, into one, and thus by increasing the body of the water, enabled it to wash away the sand, which stopped the progress of his boats.* The late Surveyor General Lieut.-Col. Colebrooke, whose mind was always devoted to objects connected with the public good, proposed that the Government should construct iron machines, and have them dragged over the bottom of the Cossimbazar River, at places where the sand, by accumulating, tended to stop up the channel. I am of opinion, that if the machines were not made too heavy, to be raised into an empty boat ascending the stream, that they might have the best effect ; and with the assistance of a few convicts they might be worked free of all expence to the Government for the loaded boats descending the stream, might draw them down, and empty boats ascending carry them up.

A stop should be put to the construction of any more Pucka Ghauts, or if allowed to be constructed, they should not be permitted to jut into the River : the fishermen should be prevented from constructing their wears ; and the Bunds to the south of the Ganges, above Calcutta should be limited to the preservation of the principal towns and villages. By these means the waters of the Ganges would be allowed to extend over the country, so as to reach the River Hooghly in the greatest possible quantity.

If such measures are adopted, the navigation of the River Hooghly, may be expected to improve ; and if it cannot again recover the state in which it was in the year 1757, it may be expected at least to remain clear for the navigation of the Ships that now visit the Port of Calcutta.

As Pucka Ghauts or Piers for the landing of goods never answer, owing to the receding of the River from them shortly after their construction is completed, and as WOODEN PILES are liable to be destroyed by worms, and cannot be made strong enough to sustain the shock of a heavy Vessel's coming alongside, I would strongly recommend the substitution of a Wharf supported on iron columns, which by not obstructing the flow of the water would preserve its depth, and Ships might at all times deliver their cargoes alongside. CALCUTTA, November 20, 1819.

I am, Sir, Your's &c.,
NAUTICUS.

Mr. Ernest Bevin, M.P. made a reference to Indian matters early last year in which he stated that he would abolish the term "Lascar" for Indian seamen.

Reference to that admirable work, "Hobson Jobson," about the origin of that word is interesting.

- LASCAR, s. The word is originally from Pers. *lashkar*, 'an army,' 'a camp.' This is usually derived from Ar. *al'askar*, but it would rather seem that Ar. 'askar,' 'an army' is taken from this Pers. word: whence *lashkari*, 'one belonging to an army, a soldier.' The word *lascar* or *lascari* (both these pronunciations are in vogue) appears to have been corrupted, through the Portuguese use of *lashkari* in the forms *lasquarin*, *lascari*, &c., either by the Portuguese themselves or by the Dutch and English who took up the word from them, and from these *laskar* has passed back again into native use in this corrupt shape. The early Portuguese writers have the forms we have just named in the sense of 'soldier'; but *lascar* is never so used now. It is in general the equivalent of *Khalasi*, in the various senses of that word (see CLASSY), viz. (1) an inferior class of artilleryman ('gun-lascar') (2) a tent-pitcher, doing other work which the class are accustomed to do; (3) a sailor. The last is the most common Anglo-Indian use, and has passed into the English language. The use of *lascar* in the modern sense by Pyrard de Laval shows that this use was already general on the west coast at the beginning of the 17th century, (also see quotation from Pringle below); whilst the curious distinction which Pyrard makes between *Lascar* and *Lascari*, and Dr. Fryer makes between *Luscar* and *Lascar* (ascenting probably *Luscar* and *Lascar*) shows that *Lashkari* for a soldier was still in use. In Ceylon the use of the word *lascareen* for a local or civil soldier long survived; perhaps is not yet extinct. The word *lashkari* does not seem to occur in the *Ain*.

1523,—“Fighting men called LASCARYNS.”—*Alguns documentes*, Tombo, p. 479.

1538,—“My mother only bore me to be a Captain, and not your LASCAR (LASCARIN).”—Letter of Nuno da Cunha, in *Barros*, Dec. IV. bk. 10, ch. 21.

1541,—“It is a proverbial saying all over India (i.e. Portuguese India, see s. v.) that the good LASQUARIM, or 'soldier' as we should call him, must be an Abyssinian.”—*Castro*, *Roteiro*, 73.

1546,—“Besides these there were others (who fell at Diu) whose names are unknown, being men of the lower rank, among whom I knew a LASCARYM (a man getting only 500 reis of pay!) who was the first man to lay his hand on the Moorish wall, and shouted aloud that they might see him as many have told me. And he was immediately thrown down wounded in five places with stones and bullets, but still lived; and a noble gentleman sent and had him rescued and carried away by his slaves. And he survived, but being a common man he did not even get his pay!”—*Correa*, iv. 567.

1552,—“... eles os reparte polos LASCARINS de suas capitancias, q assi chamao soldados.”—*Castanheda*, ii. 67. (Mr. Whiteway notes that in the orig. *repartem* for *reparte*, and the reference should be ii. 16).

1554,—“Moreover the Senhor Governor conceded to the said ambassador that if in the territories of *Idalshaa* (see *IDALCAN*), or in those of our Lord the King there shall be any differences or quarrels between any Portuguese

LASCARINS or PEONS (piaes) of our, and LASCARINS of the territories of Idalshaa and peons of his, that the said Idalshaa shall order the delivery up of the Portuguese and peons that they may be punished if culpable. And in like manner”—S. Botelho, Tombo, 44.

1572,—“Erant in eo praesidio LASQUARINI circiter septingenti artis scolopettariae peritissimi.”—E. Asosta, f. 236v.

1598,—“The soldier of Ballagate, which is called LASCARIN. . . .”—Linschoten, 74 ; (in Hak. Soc. i. 264, LASCARIIN).

1600,—“Todo a mais churma e meneyo das naos sao Mouros que chamao LASCHARES. . . .”—Lucena, Life of St. Franc, Xav., liv. iv. p. 223.

1602,—“. . . because the LASCARS (LASCARIS), for so they call the Arab sailors.”—Couto, Dec. X. bk. 3, ch. 13.

c. 1610,—“Mesmes tous les mariniers et les polotes sont Indiens, tant Gentils que Mahometans. Tous ces gens de mer les appellent LASCARS et les soldats LASCARITS.”—Pyrard de Laval, i. 317 ; (Hak. Soc. i. 438 ; also see ii. 3, 17).

1615,—“. . . two horses with six LASCERAS and two caffres (see DAFFER—Foster, Letters, iv. 112).

1644,—“. . . The aldeas of the jurisdiction of Damam, in which district there are 4 fortified posts defended by Lascars (LASCARIS) who are mostly native Christian soldiers, though they may be heathen as some of them are.”—Bocarro, MS.

1673,—“The Seamen and Soldiers differ only in a Vowel, the one being pronounced with an U, the other with an a, as LUSCAR, a soldier, LASCAR, a seaman.”—Fryer, 107.

1683-84—“The Warehousekeeper having Seaverall dayes advised the Council of ship Welfares tardynesse in receiving and stowing away the Goods, . . . alledging that they have not hands Sufficent to dispatch them, though we have spared them tenn LASKARS for that purpose . . .”—Pringle, Diary Ft. St. Geo., 1st ser. iii. 7 seq.; also see p. 43.

1685,—“They sent also from Sofragan D. Antonio da Motta Galvaon with 6 companies, which made 190 men ; the Dissava (see DISSAVE) of the adjoining provinces joined him with 4000 LASCARINS.”—Ribeyro, H. of the I. of Ceylon (from French Tr., p. 241).

1690,—“For when the English Sailers at that time perceiv'd the softness of the Indian LASCARRS ; how tame they were . . . they embark'd again upon a new Design . . . to . . . rob these harmless Traffickers in the Red Sea.”—Ovington, 464.

1726,—“LASCARYNS, or Loopers, are native soldiers, who have some regular maintenance, and in return must always be ready.”—Valentijn, Ceylon, Names of Offices, &c., 10.

1755,—“Some LASCARS and Sepoys were now sent forward to clear the road.” (Orme, ed. 1803, i. 394).

1787,—“The Field Pieces attached to the Cavalry draw up on the Right and Left Flank of the Regiment ; the Artillery LASCARS forming in a line with the Front Rank the full Extent of the Drag Ropes, which they hold in their hands.”—Regns. for the Hon. Company's Troops on the Coast of Coromandel, by M.-Gen. Sir Archibald Campbell, K.B., Govr. & C. in C., Madras, p. 9.

1803,—“In those parts (of the low country of Ceylon) where it is not thought requisite to quarter a body of troops, there is a police corps of the natives appointed to enforce the commands of Government in each district they are composed of Conganies, or sergeants. Aratjies, or corporals, and LASCARINES, or common soldiers, and perform the same office as our Sheriff's men of constables,”—Percival's Ceylon, 222.

1807,—“A large open boat formed the van, containing his excellency's guard of LASCOREENS, with their spears raised perpendicularly, the union colours flying, and Ceylon drums called TOMTOMS beating.”—Cordiner's Ceylon, 170.

In the following passages the original word lashkar is used in its proper sense for ‘a camp’.

1614,—“He said he bought it of a banyan in the LASKER.”—Foster, Letters, ii. 142

1615,—“We came to the LASKER the 7th of February in the evening.”—Ibid. iii. 85.

1616,—“I tooke horse to auoyd presse, and other inconvenience, and crossed out of the LESKAR, before him.”—Sir T. Roe, in Purchas, i. 558 ; see also 560 (Hak. Soc. ii. 324).

1682,—“. . . presents to the Seir LASCARR (Sar-i-Lashkar, ‘head of the army’) this day received.”—Pringle, Diary Ft. St. Geo., 1st ser. i. 84.

Nearly two hundred years ago, someone in the service of the East India Company, believed to be an expert, said he could eat every ounce of coal discovered in Bengal. Had he lived, the creeping barrage of time would have so astonished him that he would have been prepared to eat his words, or anything else, to make amends for his confident ignorance.

The “Calcutta Gazette” for September 17, 1784 contains one of the earliest references to what is now a great and important industry.

In that year Warren Hastings appears to have granted a license to prospect for coal to John Sumner. Despite large expenditure and a lot of useful work, it was found to be more profitable to import coal from England, the local product being considered inferior.

Further efforts were made in 1812 when Government started coal-mining at Burdwan. A Mr. Jones was brought out to “bore” and thoroughly investigate the various fields. The coal was brought down the Damuda River by boat to Calcutta. The work he did appears to have been unsuccessful owing to lack of capital but in 1820 various Calcutta firms began to take interest in the industry which has advanced by leaps and bounds ever since.

"We understand a gentleman in the Company's service, who has been lately employed on a commission to the eastward, has discovered coals in the beds of the Mahadeo and Sumesarai rivers, at the foot of the Gonaser and Garrow hills, in the Sooshung District, to the northward of Dacca. In the beds of these rivers they were found in large quantities, and in small pieces about a foot below the surface of the ground adjacent. They are not used by the natives as fuel, but an oil extracted from them is esteemed for its medicinal quality in curing cutaneous disorders. We hear also that the oil extracted by the gentleman who discovered the coals, and who has brought a small quantity of them to Calcutta, resembles, in appearance, the tar produced in Europe by Lord Dundonald, and lately brought from England to this country by the Hon'ble Mr. Cochrane.

How far its nature and properties really correspond, remains to be yet determined, but at all events, if the secret lie in the mode of extracting the oil, the discovery of the materials for it will be of considerable advantage in reducing the price, which must necessarily be high, were the oil to be imported from Europe. As the rivers above mentioned communicate with the Burrumpooter, there is water-carriage the whole way to the Presidency a convenience which the coals before discovered in the Beerbhohm hills do not, we believe, possess."—"Calcutta Gazette."

"Thw Raneegunge Colliery was sold by auction by Messrs. Moore, Hicky & Co. on the 2nd January 1836 to Baboo Dwarkenauth Tagore for 70,000 sicca rupees."—"Bengal Monthly Journal," p. 50.

The Records of the Geological Survey of India for the year 1889 give the following details about some of the coal fields now being worked.

RANIGANJ,—An area of 500 square miles. Raniganj is the general name for the field. The estimated quantity of coal was 14,000 million tons. There were 44 collieries.

Apar & Co. working Charanpore Colliery expect to put out for 1889-1890—2000 tons.

The output of the Bengal Coal Co. for the year ended April 1889 was 213,119 tons.

New Beerbhohm Coal Cp. output for the half year ending April 1889 was 3,207,849 maunds.

Raniganj Coal Association for the year ending March 1889 raised 1,391,591 maunds.

UNDEVELOPED AREAS—1889.

Daltonganj	..	200 square miles.	11 million tons.
Jharia	..	200 do do	465 do do
Karanpura North	..	472 do do	8750 do do
Karanpura South	..	72 do do	75 do do
Ramgarh	..	200 do do	
Bokaro	..	200 do do	1500 do do
Talcher	..	700 do do	

"The Gloucester Mills were sold on the 1st December to Mr. Allan, the Attorney for Rs. 2,50,000. The original cost of the various property conveyed by the sale exceeded ten lakhs of rupees."

"Calcutta Monthly Journal," 1836, p. 17.

"The floating pontoon bridge—Howrah Bridge, designed and carried out Sir Bradford Leslie, son of one Royal Accademician and elder brother of another, was opened for traffic in October, 1874."

THE 18th JULY, 1793.
PROPOSALS OF THE PHOENIX INSURANCE SOCIETY IN CALCUTTA.

THEY commence business on this day according to the advertisement of the 5th day of this instant, July.

A considerable fund is established for the satisfaction and security of all persons who may become interested, or have any claims on this Society. The business of this Society will be settled and fixed on by a Board of three gentlemen.

All securities, to be signed and sealed by the Society, will have the seal of the Society affixed thereto, and the signatures of the Board.

The Board will sit every Monday at the house of Mr. Hart, in Calcutta, at one o'clock for the despatch of business, when all proposals from persons who wish to be interested by insurance, or otherwise, will be immediately taken into consideration, and an answer sent thereto before the succeeding Board to-day.

Form of proposal to be sent to the Society for assurances on lives. First, name and occupation of the life to be insured ; second, place and date of birth ; third, present residence ; fourth, term and sum ; fifth, by whom made ; if he has had the small-pox or been afflicted with gout or any other disorder.

That persons of every country and description, natives or others, of all ages, or states, may be insured by this Society, on such terms and for such time as the nature of the case may, on fair and liberal calculations, permit.

By insuring a life is meant the securing a sum of money, to be paid by the Society to the representative of the insured, either his wife, child, creditor, executor, or administrator, if such death should happen whilst the policy is in force.

A person making an insurance on his own or on the life of any other person will be able to leave a comfortable subsistence at his death, (being the sum insured, to his wife, child, &c., &c., which by a small monthly income he might not be able to do upon any other or better system). It will enable a person in debt to give security for the discharge of such debt by securing the principal sum payable at his death ; and in case of imprisonment, the person may obtain his liberty by assigning the policy of insurance to his creditors and by that means securing the debt on his decease. It will also enable persons to secure money which they may have occasion to borrow by insuring the life and assigning the policy to the lender.

The insurance or survivorships in making an insurance that one or more person or persons will outlive another or other, which is eligible when a person wishes to provide for another at their decease.

That person may insure the lives of children, whether Europeans or others, until they arrive to a certain age, when they will be entitled to receive a sum in gross for the premiums paid in.

The advancing money by way of annuity. Any person being in immediate want of money, and having a monthly salary or income, may be accommodated therewith on giving such security to the Society for the due and regular payment of the annuity as the Committee shall approve, and may at any time or times thereafter repay the same, and discharge their securities on application to the Society.

That all persons who apply to the Society for the assurance of lives, or to raise money, deposit with the Secretary one gold-mohur, to be disposed of in the manner following *viz.*, if though any neglect, or default of the person applying for the insurance or annuity, it do not take place, the same to be forfeited. If the same does take place, the deposit to be accounted for in the premium. And if the Society neglect or refuse the insurance or the purchase of the annuity, the said gold-mohur to be returned without any deduction.

By the direction of the Committee,

W. HART,

Secretary,

Selections from Calcutta Gazettes.

Seton-Karr, p. 555-6-7.

Calcutta,

July 15th, 1793.

Fears have often been expressed that the Hooghly is a dying river. Mr. T. M. Oag of the Calcutta Port Commissioners recently made exhaustive inquiries into the history of the Hooghly which would be interesting to readers of "Bengal Past and Present." The following letter shows that the subject has worried various citizens of Calcutta for a long time.

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Statements of Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31st December, 1942

GENERAL FUND

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
	RS. AS. P.		RS. AS. P.
To Balance at 1st January, 1942 :—		By Printing including Reprints ...	336 10 9
With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.—		Postage and Petties ...	28 0 0
On Current Account ...	414 13 5	Peon's Wages ...	29 6 6
On Fixed Deposit ...	1,000 0 0	Bank Charges ...	0 4 0
Subscriptions Realised—		Balance at 31st December, 1942 :	
Arrears ...	40 0 0	With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.—	
Current ...	20 0 0	On Current Account ...	127 8 2
Sale of Society's Journal ...	...	On Fixed Deposit ...	1,000 0 0
Interest on Fixed Deposit ...	...		
			1,127 8 2
			Rs. 1,521 13 5

INDEX FUND.

To Balance at 1st January, 1942 with Mercantile Bank of India Ltd. on current Account ...	93 15 7	By Balance at 31st December, 1942 with Mercantile Bank of India Ltd. on Current Account ...	93 15 7
...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...
	Rs. 93 15 7		Rs. 93 15 7

Examined and found correct.

Calcutta
21st September, 1944.

C. LEWIS, Chartered Accountants Registered Accountants Love-lock & Lewis, Calcutta.	{	Hony. Auditors.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



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